AFTER ROE: RUTH CONNIFF AND TERRY TEMPEST WILLIAMS
AN INTERVIEW WITH MAIREAD MAGUIRE

The Progressive

March 2013

For Labor, What's After Michigan?

By Bill Fletcher Jr.

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It's Time to Pull Together

Election Day 2012 brought good news for the Main Street movement, but the challenges we face are far from over.

The corporate-backed lobbyists and anti-worker politicians haven't given up the fight. We saw their attacks on Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security in December's fiscal showdown. We saw their arrogant and corrupt attack on workers' rights in the lame-duck session in Michigan. The battle to preserve the American Dream for the poor and the working middle class is still being waged. If we are going to prevail, we must chart a course together.

- **Together, we must continue to protect working families and the poor** from the intolerance of the extreme right and the greed of corporate CEOs.
- **Together, we must fight for the public services** – including education, safety, health and transportation – that help our communities thrive.
- **Together, we must stand up for the values that labor and progressives have always championed** – including our commitment to a level playing field and opportunity for all – and fight back against the income inequality that threatens our democracy.

Together, we will shape the future.

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We Make America Happen

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1043-12

COVER BY CAITLIN KUHWALD

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SINCE 1909

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Editor's Note Matthew Rothschild

The Harkin Difference

I'm sorry that Tom Harkin is not going to run for reelection in 2014. I respect his reasons. Time is "fleeting," as the seventy-three-year-old Senator said in announcing his decision. And he will have served forty years in Congress by then, so I acknowledge the validity of his point that other people should get a chance to serve.

But we'll sorely miss him and his courage.

Even before he was elected to Congress, he displayed that courage. As a staffer on the House Select Committee on U.S. Involvement in Southeast Asia, he went with members of that committee to Vietnam in 1970, and he visited the "tiger cages," where our allies in the South Vietnamese government were torturing prisoners. He took pictures and gave them to *Life* magazine. He wrote about the experience for *The Progressive* in October 1970 in a piece called "Vietnam Whitewash." He said he couldn't ignore the voices of the prisoners in the tiger cages begging him to tell their stories.

He also said: "One man can stand up and make a difference."

Tom Harkin stood up repeatedly, and repeatedly he made a difference.

He made a difference in the late 1970s, when he denounced U.S. support for Indonesia's invasion of East Timor.

He made a difference in the 1980s, when he opposed U.S. support for the Contras.

He made a huge difference in 1990 when he wrote the Americans with Disabilities Act.

And he kept making a difference: by supporting abortion rights, small farmers, workers' rights, stem cell research, and civil liberties.

He himself was the victim of a crude McCarthyite attack when he was running for reelection in 2008. His Republican opponent, Christopher Reed, called him "the Tokyo Rose of Al Qaeda and Middle East terrorism." Harkin told Reed: "You're a nice young man, and I thought you had a political future ahead of you. But that just ended your political career right there." Harkin whupped Reed 62.5 percent to 37.5 percent.

In one of his most recent votes, Harkin showed his independence and his dedication to principle. He was the only Senate Democrat to vote against the agreement on the fiscal cliff.

"We find ourselves voting on an agreement that fails to address our number one priority—creating good, middle class jobs in Iowa and throughout the country," he said. "In essence, this agreement locks in a tax structure that is grossly unfair to middle class Americans, one which provides permanent tax assistance to wealthy Americans, and only temporary relief to everyone else."

That's the Tom Harkin I know and love. And that's the Tom Harkin I'm going to miss so much.

With a few notable exceptions, like the Chicago teachers' strike, labor has been taking it on the chin lately. Last year, the percentage of workers in unions dropped to 11.3 percent, down 43 percent over the past twenty years to the lowest level in almost a century. We suffered a brutal setback here in Wisconsin when Governor Scott Walker prevailed in court in his effort to gut unions in the public sector. And when Michigan, the historic center of the American labor movement, suddenly became a "right to work" state, the catastrophe facing organized labor simply could not be ignored any longer. So we turned to Bill Fletcher Jr., one of the wisest union activists in the country, to give us the lowdown. As you'll see, he spares no one. ◆

No Comment

Taco Stupido

An employee at Taco Cid, a restaurant in Columbia, South Carolina, was wearing a shirt at work that said, "How to catch an illegal immigrant," along with an illustration of a trap using a taco as bait, reporter Corey Hutchins noted. According to *Think Progress*, other employees wear that shirt, and the restaurant sells it to customers.

Life Choices

When Representative Steve LaTourette, Republican of Ohio, announced his retirement, he told *The Atlantic*: "I'll go back and find something productive to do with my life. As opposed to the last eighteen years." Three days later, he joined a D.C. lobbying firm.

Stop Me Before I Kill

James Yeager, CEO of Tactical Response, a weapons-training company, warned he would "start killing people" if President Obama decided to take executive action to pass gun control policies, according to *The Raw Story*. He told gun rights advocates to "load your damn mags" and prepare for "civil war." No word yet whether Yeager has followed through.

Worse Than bin Laden? Worse Than the Patriot Act?

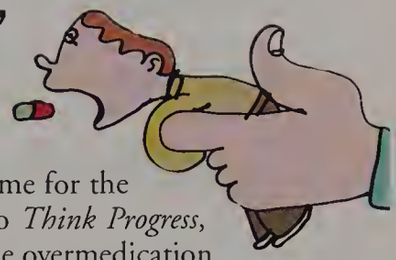
Senator Ron Johnson, Republican of Wisconsin, called the Affordable Care Act the "greatest assault on freedom in our lifetime." He also told the Atlas Society, which worships Ayn Rand, that U.S. citizens are suffering from "Stockholm Syndrome" under President Obama.

Now Look Who Is in Favor of Contraception

Foster Friess, the far-right Republican billionaire who, during the primaries, said that women can "put aspirin between their knees" for contraception, says he's been misunderstood. "I have four kids," he said at a breakfast hosted by *The Christian Science Monitor*. "They're two years apart. And contraception's been very, very good to me."

Readers are invited to submit No Comment items. Please send original clippings or photocopies and give name and date of publication. Submissions cannot be acknowledged or returned.

Guns Don't Kill People, Welfare Moms Do



Oklahoma Republican Congressman James Lankford agreed with a constituent at a town hall meeting that "psychotropic drugs" are to blame for the recent mass shootings. According to *Think Progress*, he went on to claim that "some of the overmedication of kids" is "because welfare moms want to get additional benefits."

Limbaugh Names Obama's Son

After President Obama said that football was too violent, and if he had a son, he'd might discourage him from playing the sport, Rush Limbaugh said: "The President of the United States is now suggesting this game is too dangerous for America's children, certainly for his son, Trayvon, if he had one. . . . [But] he'll be happy to send your daughters off to combat."

Nickel and Dimed

John Metz, a restaurant franchise owner who operates forty-eight locations of Hurricane Grill & Wings, several dozen Denny's, and a few Dairy Queens, told *The Huffington Post* that he'd join the growing list of restaurateurs shifting Affordable Care Act costs onto their customers and staff. "If I leave the prices the same, but say on the menu that there is a 5 percent surcharge for Obamacare, customers have two choices," Metz said. "They can either pay it and tip 15 or 20 percent, or if they really feel so inclined, they can reduce the amount of tip they give to the server, who is the primary beneficiary of Obamacare."

Who Needs Health Care?

Mississippi Governor Phil Bryant opposes the expansion of Medicaid in his state, where 17 percent of the population is uninsured. "There is no one who doesn't have health care in America. No one," he told Kaiser Health News. And he said expanding Medicaid would only encourage people to visit their doctors: "It's free, and you have nothing else to do."

STUART GOLDENBERG

Letters to the Editor

Bad Strategy on Third Parties

December/January's editorial commentary portion on third-party candidacies and the Presidential election (Editor's Note, "How to Live," Matthew Rothschild) left me puzzled.

The observation that the experiment has been run several times with unpromising results can better be applied to voting for corporate militaristic Democrats like Obama and expecting progressive results. I've no idea how Matt could have gone from being skeptical about Obama in one paragraph to saying alternatives should not be presented in the next.

We need a wider conversation. We need more choices, not less. Better to advocate for instant runoff voting, equal inclusion in Presidential debates, etc., than tell third-party candidates to get out of the national fray and focus on the local. Rather than discourage third-party efforts, let's advocate for evening the playing field to make them viable. National issues require national candidates. Local means nothing for citizens who want a ballot alternative on national issues.

The analysis was all the more baffling given that Obama won! I voted for Jill Stein not because I expected the Green Party to make great strides, but because she was the best on the ballot. I would not have voted for Obama for a number of reasons. To suggest that third-party support is a waste of time is bad long-term strategy.

Bernard Dalsey
Whitewater, Wisconsin

I see that you're disappointed in the small number of votes Jill Stein of the Green Party got—0.3 percent. And I see that you are rethinking your ideas about third parties. I voted for the Libertarian, so I'm disappointed, too.

I did note that *The Progressive*, unlike other publications I'm familiar with, did give some space to Stein and to other third-party candidates.

Benjamin A. Greaves
Seaside, Oregon

Obama Fulfills McGovern's Dream

I was struck by Matthew Rothschild's contradictory Editor's Note in the December/January issue.

On the one hand, you are "no huge fan" of President Obama.

On the other hand, the late George McGovern is one of your lifelong political heroes.

The irony is that President Obama represents the fruition of the dream that idealistic young McGovern volunteers possessed forty years ago. He represents the same wing of the Democratic Party. The two men, representing different generations and running in different times, represent the same basic progressive ideals.

If you were fourteen when McGovern ran for President, you are only a few years younger than me. Obama is unquestionably the most progressive President of our lifetime. That is unlikely to change, even if we live to be very old men.

Undoubtedly, he has not kept all his campaign promises and has disappointed us on a variety of issues. Actually governing this country is a far messier proposition than running for President and espousing lofty ideals.

I always read your magazine and often find interesting stuff in it. But I will never donate extra funds as long as you are the editor because of the way you led your "flock" astray in 2000 by implying there was no difference between Al Gore and George W. Bush (the difference on combating climate change alone would have been profound) and encouraging suicidal votes for Ralph Nader.

In your failure to recognize the progressivism of Obama, at a truly critical time in our history, you seem to be doing it again.

Jay Davis
Rapid City, South Dakota

Obama Flunks Schools

Ruth Conniff's article in the February issue, "Flunking School Reform," accurately reflects what many Republican governors are doing in the name of "school reform." Unfortunately, the Obama Administration is doing it, too.

Both the George W. Bush and Obama Administrations have mandated standardized tests under the guise of holding students and teachers "accountable." This flawed model is used to convince the public that their schools are failures.

But, in fact, the approach is a multimillion-dollar gift to the few corporations that control the test-service industry and contribute heavily to both major parties.

In a democracy that relies on a representative government, the public schools' true mission should be to help develop good citizens, not to mass produce our youth for business and industry.

Thomas M. Stephens
Professor Emeritus,
College of Education
and Human Ecology
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Oliver Stone and the A-Bomb

I've got a question for Oliver Stone (Interview by Ed Rampell, February issue): How many American lives does he think Henry Wallace as President would have let be sacrificed for his "higher moral discourse?"

Did not President Truman drop the bomb to abate the killing and maiming of Americans?

Stone's biased, foggy telescope of idealistic history seems to easily favor higher moral principles over real American lives and deaths. Consider the many American casualties the day

SLOWPOKE

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DIRT-Y POLITICS
HAVE AMERICA'S CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS FINALLY CONVINCED THE GOP TO REACH OUT TO MINORITY VOTERS? NOT EXACTLY.
A STATE'S ELECTORAL VOTES SHOULD GO BY DISTRICTS.
IT'S ONLY FAIR THAT A CITY OF ONE MILLION HAS THE SAME CLOUT AS THIS LOVELY COW TOWN OF 12.
WE WANT TO REACH OUT BEYOND PEOPLE... TO THE LAND.
IF THIS HAPPENS TO REDUCE THE IMPACT OF URBAN-DWELLING AFRICAN-AMERICANS, WELL, THAT'S STRICTLY UNINTENTIONAL.
SUFFRAGE FOR SOD!
ROCK THE VOTE! LITERALLY!
WHY, THIS SHRUB HAS BEEN WAITING ITS ENTIRE LIFE TO VOTE FOR A BUSH.
YOUR DAY WILL COME, LITTLE PLANT.
WE EMBRACE ALL COLORS OF SOIL... FROM LIGHT SAND TO RED CLAY TO BLACK MULCH.
WE DON'T TREAT PEOPLE LIKE DIRT...
WE TREAT DIRT LIKE PEOPLE!
SORENSEN
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before Hiroshima and the following few days until the killing of Americans finally ceased.

Duncan Morrill
New Hampshire

Rein in Population Growth

Your February issue is one of the best ever. And in your "Overheating Planet" Comment, you're right to say that worldwide action is imperative.

But that action must be accompanied by reining in population growth.

Our numbers will rise from seven billion now to nine billion by 2050. The Ford Administration's 1975 National Security Study Memorandum 200, "Implications of Worldwide Population Growth for U.S. Security and Overseas Interests," spelled this out, recommending universal access to family planning, but it was mysteriously classified and deep-sixed for nearly twenty years and then ignored.

The clock is ticking.

Edd Doerr
President, Americans for Religious Liberty
Silver Spring, Maryland

Why I Subscribe

Thank you for your December/January issue. Once again, I'm reminded why I subscribe to your informative and beautiful magazine. The poetry, too, is always appreciated. Keep up the great work!

Lou Holdridge
Edina, Minnesota

The Progressive

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Hope for Immigrants

President Obama's speech on immigration reform in Las Vegas picked up where his second Inaugural Address left off—on a high note.

"Anyone from anywhere can write the next chapter of our story," Obama declared, reminding Americans that we are a nation of immigrants.

Obama thrilled progressives with his inaugural declaration of our country's progressive values and the historic journey "through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall" toward a more just society that includes women's rights, racial equality, gay rights, and immigrant rights—the values that inspired the nation and won him the 2012 Presidential election.

In his immigration speech, Obama announced that he was ready to take the next step toward justice for Latinos and other immigrant groups.

"Unless you're one of the first Americans, a Native American, you came from someplace else," the President said, to loud applause.

The debate on immigration reform can "take on a feeling of us versus them," he added, because "a lot of folks forget that most of us used to be them."

It is fitting that our first African American President, the son of a Kenyan father and a Kansan mother, who often jokes about his "funny name" and shows his special understanding of our nation's polyglot history and unique promise, should decide to expend some of his political capital after winning reelection on this issue.

Latinos voted overwhelmingly for Obama, rejecting the xenophobia of the Republicans with their calls for "self-deportation" and appeals to racism and an ugly anti-immigrant sentiment in the country.

With his support for the DREAM Act, which gives young people who were born abroad but have lived in the United States since childhood a chance at citizenship, Obama inspired people on the campaign trail.

Calling on Americans to find a better way to welcome the "striving, hopeful" immigrants who come to our shores, he threw down the gauntlet in Las Vegas.

"Now is the time," for comprehensive, common-sense immigration reform, the President declared.

If Congress can't get a bill together, he will send them one himself, he said.

Republicans will be hard pressed to reject the President's call to action since, as Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, acknowledged, they took a drubbing at the polls thanks in large part to their atrophied position on this issue.

Now come the details.

As is so often the case with Obama, the general principles he outlines in his speeches are considerably more inspiring than the nitty-gritty of his policy positions.

Obama boasted in his speech about the record number of deportations on his watch, thanks to beefed-up border security. He said he was concentrating on deporting hardened criminals, but the vast majority of people he has deported are not in this category. He has been breaking up families faster than any President before him, and that's nothing to brag about.

And the specifics are ominous in a proposal by a bipartisan group of eight Senators. The border must be totally secured before any undocumented immigrants can seek citizenship, they say, and on top of that, local officials in the Southwest will be empowered to certify whether the border is secure or not.

"It's an impossible standard," Representative Raul Grijalva, Democrat of Arizona and co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, told *Colorlines.com*. "At what point is it secure?" Grijalva warned that some officials in the Southwest, like Arizona Governor Jan Brewer, "have made their political careers on a stringent anti-immigrant agenda." They would never certify that the border is secure, he added.

Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, one of the Republicans in the bipartisan group working on the issue, said that undocumented workers shouldn't even

"The President cannot propose legislation to create new citizens while simultaneously deporting at a record rate those he claims to want to legalize."

—Christine Neumann-Ortiz, executive director, Voces de la Frontera

be able to get green cards, much less citizenship, "until the enforcement stuff is in place."

This could be the poison pill in the entire immigration reform package, and Obama needs to crush it. In his Nevada speech, Obama didn't put his foot down hard. Instead, he tiptoed up to it by saying, "It must be clear from the outset that there is a pathway to citizenship." But he didn't say he would absolutely not go along with the "border security first" approach.

The President made a point of saying that those who are here illegally must "go to the back of the line," behind people who have applied for visas and citizenship status.

That's all well and good.

But we must deal with the issue of the agonizing wait.

If undocumented immigrants must go to the back of the line to wait for visas, we must ensure that they—and the people ahead of them in line—don't have to wait forever.

Some applicants for legal residency in the United States have been waiting in line for family unification visas for between ten and twenty years.

Other worrisome details are the employment restrictions and fines for the undocumented.

Steep fines would be particularly onerous for unprotected workers who, the President pointed out, are underpaid and exploited in the shadow economy. It would be a gross injustice if low-income families could not afford the costs of the path to citizenship.

JOY KOLITSKY

The real issue, of course, is economic. As Pulitzer Prize-winning *L.A. Times* reporter Sonia Nazario documented in her heartbreaking nonfiction book, *Enrique's Journey*, sheer economic desperation drives many immigrants—a majority of them women—to undertake the extremely dangerous step of migrating illegally into this country in an attempt to earn enough money to support the young children they leave behind. And more and more of those young children—some as young as seven years old—are riding the tops of trains and running a gauntlet of violent gangs and corrupt police to try to be united with their mothers.

This situation will not be helped with tougher border enforcement.

And let's face it: The shadow economy in the U.S. that relies on millions of undocumented workers will not close up shop overnight because of more crackdowns on workers and employers.

Until conditions are better in the countries that send us their low-wage workers, the migration will continue.

Meanwhile, contrary to anti-immigrant hype, immigrants make a tremendous economic contribution to our country.

Obama talked about the engineering and computer science students, like the founder of Intel, many of whom have to leave this country because of barriers to immigration.

Immigrants start one in four new businesses, as the President pointed out in his speech.

The low-wage labor of immigrants caring for children and tending to the lawns and homes and neighborhoods of wealthier U.S. citizens is impossible to miss, especially in Washington, D.C.—and regularly causes embarrassment for our federal officials, Republicans and Democrats alike, when their undocumented nannies and gardeners become publicly known.

Immigrants also pay more in taxes than they use in government-funded services. According to the Congressional Budget Office, making citizens of the eleven million immigrants here illegally would increase tax revenues by a net of $25 billion.

The nation was ready to listen when Obama spoke movingly about the humanitarian side of the immigration issue.

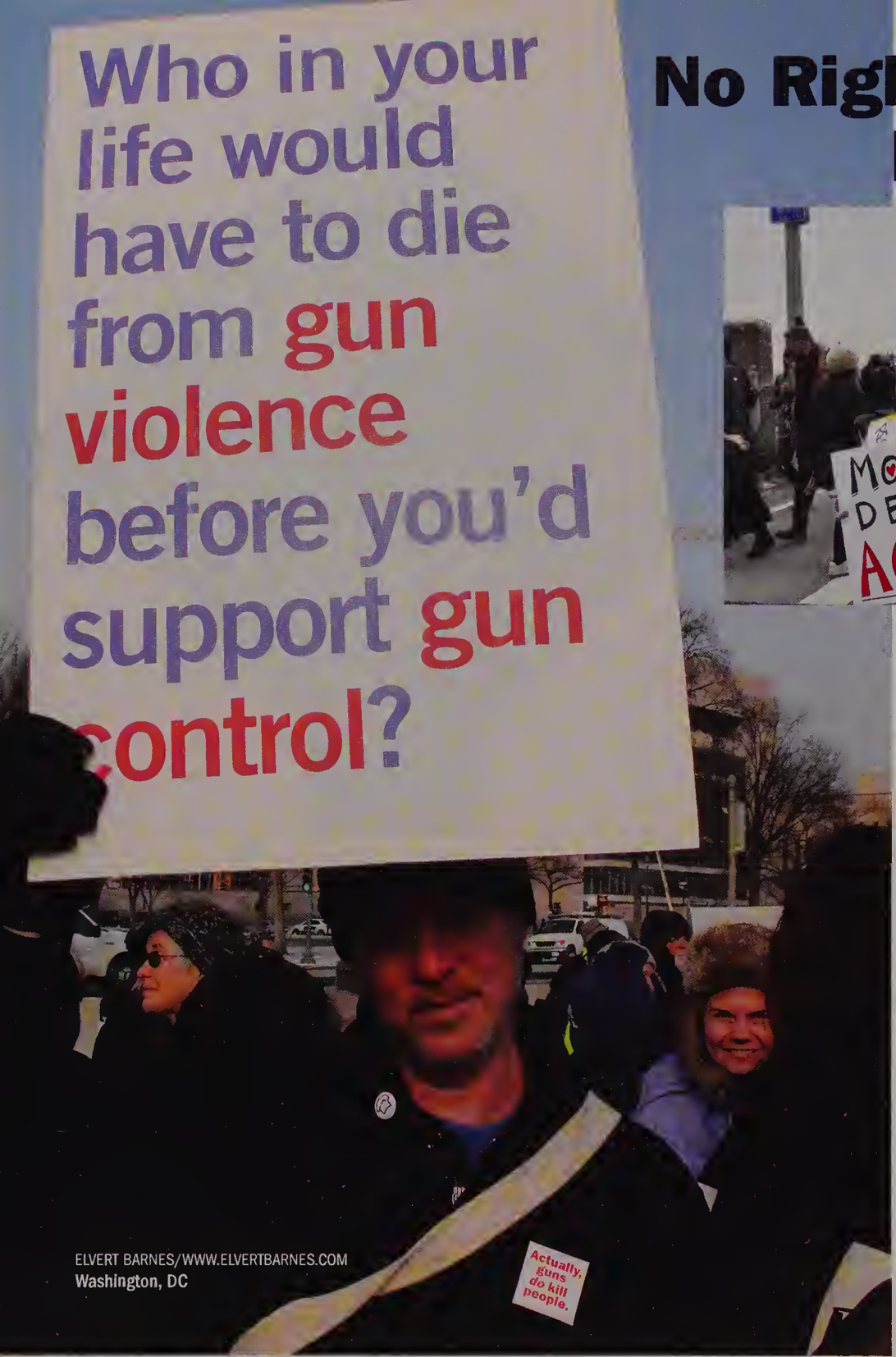
Now is the time to put our money where his mouth is.◆

—Ruth Conniff and Matthew Rothschild

President Obama has created "a very rough obstacle course on his famous path to citizenship."

—Isabel Garcia, co-chair, Derechos Humanos

No Right to Bear Bushmasters



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© DIANE GREENE LENT Brooklyn Bridge

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Protesters across the country are demanding a response to gun violence. On January 21, demonstrators in Brooklyn joined the "One Million Moms for Gun Control." On January 28, thousands gathered on the National Mall for the March on Washington for Gun Control to demand a ban on assault weapons and large ammo clips.

Washington, DC © MUKUL RANJAN

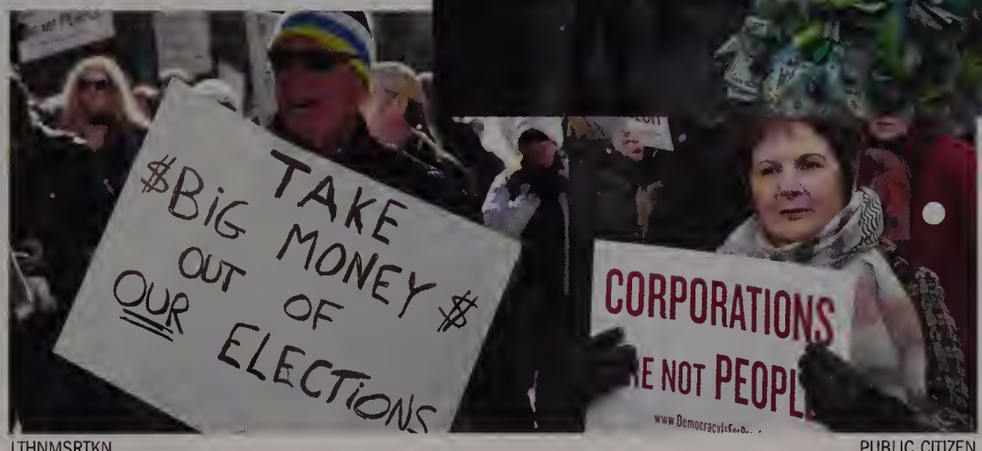
Can You Marry a Corporation?

© CHARLES MILLER

On January 19, protesters in several cities dramatized the ludicrousness of the Supreme Court's *Citizens United* decision. In New York City, a bride covered with dollar bills pretended to marry a corporation. And in Chicago, demonstrators took to the Loop to try to get money out of politics.

For more information, go to movetoamend.org.

JULIA C. REINHART



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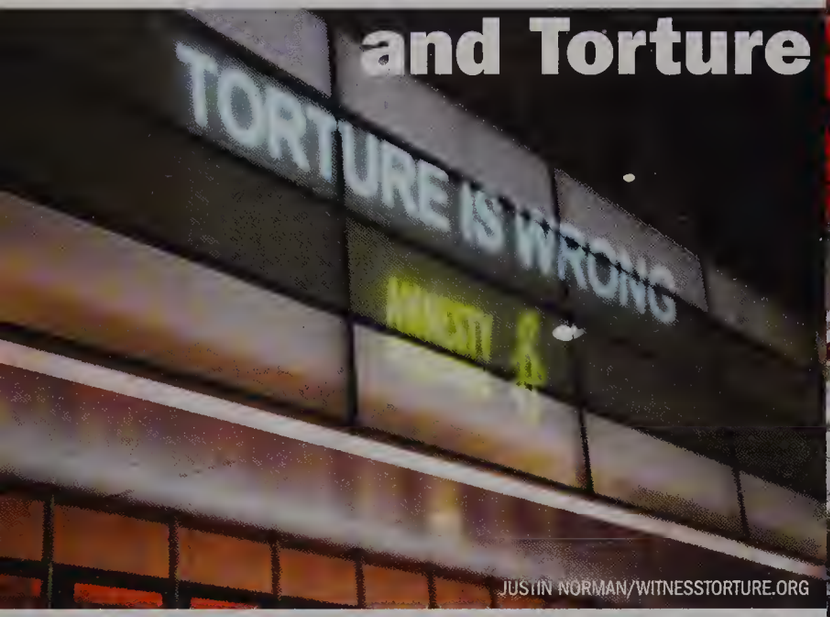
PUBLIC CITIZEN

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH/BOB BROWN

Defending *Roe* at 40

On the fortieth anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, abortion rights supporters took to the streets.

No to Guantánamo and Torture



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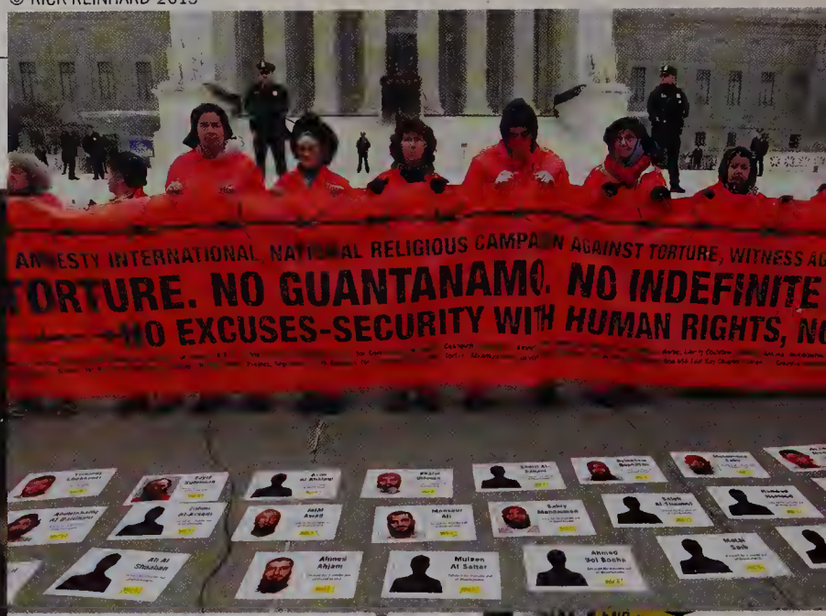
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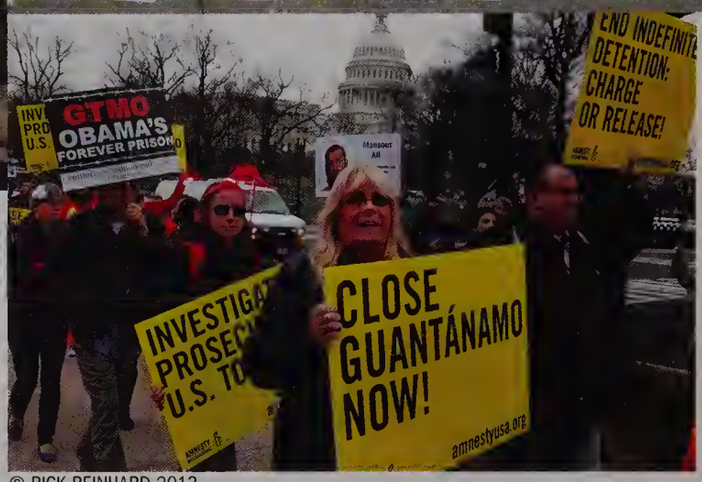

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On January 11, about 200 activists gathered at the U.S. Supreme Court to demand the closing of Guantánamo and an end to torture, kidnapping, and indefinite detention. A few days later, members of Witness Against Torture and Amnesty International projected "Torture Is Wrong" on the Newseum building, where *Zero Dark Thirty* was being screened.

For more information, go to witnesstorture.org.

Drone Warfare Is Illegal

On January 12, about seventy-five activists stood at the front gates of the CIA to protest the nomination of John Brennan as director of the agency. Brennan has been the architect of President Obama's drone program and a defender of the way the United States has treated detainees. And on Inauguration Day, demonstrators held a banner in Washington, D.C., decrying Obama's drone warfare.

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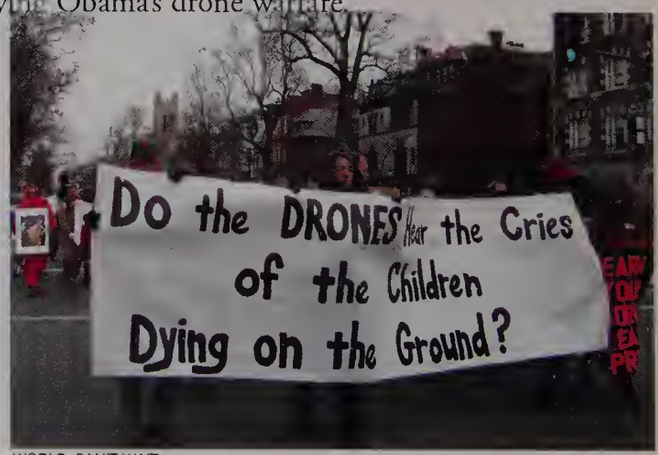
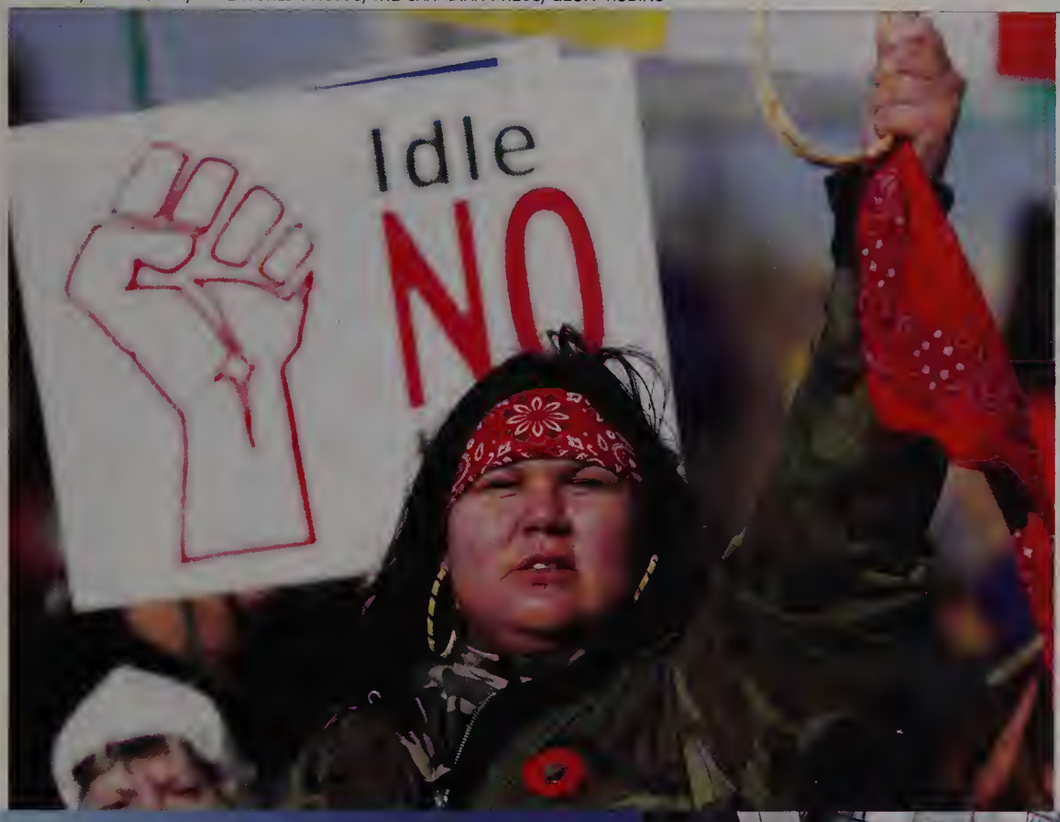


WORLD CAN'T WAIT

Windsor, Ontario AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS/THE CANADIAN PRESS/GEOFF ROBINS



Native Rights Now!

In Canada and in the Upper Midwest, Native rights activists have become increasingly active in a campaign called "Idle No More." The protesters are especially concerned about sovereignty rights and environmental protection. In Canada, they are protesting moves by Prime Minister Stephen Harper to renege on treaty rights. In Wisconsin, they are opposing Governor Scott Walker's effort to ram through legislation designed for—and partially written by—one mining company.

For more information, go to idlenomore.ca.

Windsor, Ontario NEWSCOM/TORONTO STAR/STEVE RUSSELL

Toronto NEWSCOM/REUTERS/MARK BLINCH

Madison, Wisconsin MICHAEL J. PECOSKY/OVERPASS LIGHT BRI

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS/CARLOS OSORIO

Michigan Lawmakers Get an Earful

Lansing, MI

Labor supporters lined the sidewalk in Lansing as Republican legislators entered the state capitol on January 9 for a new session. In the previous lame-duck session, they rushed through a "right to work" law. (Republican State Representative Ken Goike is the man with the cigar.) On January 16, more protesters gathered to denounce Governor Rick Snyder before he gave his state-of-the-state address.

Political Eye Ruth Conniff

Roe v. Wade and the Stone Age

Forty years ago, the Supreme Court handed down the *Roe v. Wade* decision, forever changing women's lives. The culture war over abortion and reproductive rights rages on. But one thing is certain: We are never going back to the dark days before women assumed the right to control our own bodies and our own fates.

One of my favorite observations about the *Roe* anniversary came from *New York Times* columnist Gail Collins, who noted with characteristically gentle wit that Americans simultaneously feel queasy about the topic of abortion and yet support women's right to choose by a wide margin.

While fewer young women today are willing to label themselves "feminists" or even "pro-choice" than the previous generation, two-thirds still told Quinnipiac pollsters they believe the *Roe* decision was right.

"If pro-choice activists want to rebrand themselves the Movement for Leaving Women Alone, it's likely nobody under the age of fifty would object," Collins wrote.

Young women have grown up believing that they ought to be able to have full, happy sex lives, good health care, rewarding work, and children, too, when they want them and can care for them. You can't convince them that they ought to return to the world of the double standard, forced marriages, and sex lives full of darkness, fear, and shame.

In fact, we just had a national election that turned on this issue.

Women voted overwhelmingly against the Paul Ryan/Todd Akin/Foster Friess worldview: that telling women to hold an aspirin between our legs is a funny and piquant response to the demand for birth control, that a law student who dares suggest that university health care include contraceptives deserves to be shamed as a "slut" by a powerful man with a national microphone, that rape victims are lying about being assaulted if they get pregnant—because only a woman willing to have sex can conceive.

PETER DIAMOND

After losing in November, the Republicans went into a huddle and began trying to train themselves to stop shooting off their mouths. Women don't like them, they lamented. And, unfortunately for Mitt Romney and Todd Akin, women not only have adjusted to a post-*Roe* world—we also have the right to vote.

But the Movement for Leaving Women Alone faces some subtler foes than the loudmouths who lost the election for Mitt Romney.

Across the country, states are moving to defund Planned Parenthood, impose onerous restrictions on women seeking abortions, and generally make it harder, more dangerous, more emotionally trying, and more painful to get an abortion, as well as other types of routine reproductive health care.

In Wisconsin, as in other Republican-dominated states, the legislature passed a law in the middle of the night last year taking

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Ruth Conniff is the political editor of The Progressive.

Paid Advertisement

Memory Pill Helps the Brain Like Prescription Glasses Help the Eyes, Claims US Surgeon General Candidate

Remarkable changes observed, helps users match the memory power of others 15 years younger in as little as 30 days!

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON –

Help is on the way for those who routinely lose their car keys, get lost while driving, forget to call people back, or misplace their TV remote control.

Just like a good pair of glasses can make blurry vision, sharp and crystal-clear, there's a new, doctor-recommended memory pill that may help your brain, sharpening your memory and mental powers, and making that slow-thinking, sluggish brain as sharp as a tack.

In controlled research studies, the prescription-free formula, known as Procera AVH® has been shown to increase memory, mood, and mental clarity, but it does much more than that.

Time Travel for Your Brain?

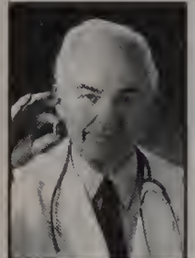
If you have ever dreamed of traveling back in time, this drug-free compound may be the next best thing.

During research trials at the prestigious Brain Sciences Institute, clinical researchers witnessed a remarkable transformation in study participants' brains.

Over a period of a few weeks, scientists observed the formula "biochemically coaxing" aging brains to function more youthfully, helping match the speed, memory abilities and mental powers enjoyed by others who were up to 15 birthdays younger.

Younger-Functioning Brain in 30 Days?

If the results of this randomized, double-blind, placebo controlled study, published in *JANA*, a leading peer-reviewed scientific journal, are to be believed, it may be entirely possible that you can get your new, younger-functioning brain in as little as 30 days.



UCLA Geffen School of Medicine Assistant Clinical Professor and Internist, Robert Heller, MD uses and recommends a drug-free method to increase memory, mental focus and concentration.

This is old news for Robert Heller, MD, who uses and recommends the formula. "It's not a drug," says Dr. Heller, "it's a nutritional supplement that can help a foggy, sluggish brain become a sharper, quicker, and healthier brain."

Wake Up Call for Tired Brains

For years, Dr. Heller looked for an effective solution to patients' complaints about mind and memory.

"I searched for a remedy or treatment that could help my patients, even friends and family, regain the memory and mental sharpness we all seem to lose with age. I am quite happy to now recommend Procera AVH as it gives the brain much needed support against free radicals and improve the decline in neurotransmitters, and blood flow and oxygen."

A randomized, double-blind, placebo-controlled study on what may be the world's first truly effective memory pill was conducted at this university research facility.

"For me, it's like reading an eye chart with the right pair of glasses instead of an old pair of lenses. Everything comes into focus, my brain is more crisp, more focused, clearer, and sharper."

Dr. Con Stough at the Brain Sciences Institute concurs, "It's a fairly unique process that pumps the brain full of more energy (oxygen), improves blood circulation to the brain and increases the key neurotransmitters that are responsible for cognitive functioning."

Elizabeth K. of Rochester, New York experienced a night-and-day difference in her mind and memory. At the age of 54, her memory was declining at an "alarming rate."

She searched high and low for a solution, before she heard about Procera AVH. She decided to give it a try.

"It took about a month for the memory benefit to kick in. Six months later, even my husband was impressed with my improved memory. And I am very happy with my renewed mental clarity and focus!"

A 'Bonus' Effect?

Elizabeth was pleasantly surprised with one of the formula's 'bonus effects.'

"Within a week I felt a wonderful change in my mood. It was such an unexpected bonus," smiles Elizabeth.

Pharmacist Gene Steiner, Pharm.D, was relocating to another state and was apprehensive about taking the state board of pharmacy jurisprudence examination, a daunting examination that tests a candidate's mastery of pharmacy law.

Dr. Steiner took Procera AVH daily for two weeks prior to the test, and passed with flying colors.

"The recall I experienced was near fantastic," says Steiner.

Curiosity piqued, Dr. Steiner did his own research to learn more about the formula

He read about a US cognitive researcher who had taken a new approach to treating memory loss, addressing the "energy crisis" that occurs naturally in human brains around the age of 40-50.

Author, researcher, preeminent brain expert, and lead formulator for Procera AVH, Joshua Reynolds, explains, "One-third of your brainpower may be lost by the age of 40, and up to 50 percent may be lost by the age of 50!"

Half-Blind... and Can't See It

"If you were to lose half your vision, essentially go half-blind, you would surely notice it." says Reynolds. "But the gradual loss of mental acuity and brainpower over many years may be too subtle for people to notice." This explains why many Procera AVH users seem surprised at the effects.

Mark S. in Alego, Texas, was worried about being at his best during sales calls.

"I really needed something to help with mental clarity, focus and memory. I have to be at my best when I meet with clients." Shortly after he started taking Procera AVH, Mark was amazed at how sharp and mentally focused he was during his appointments.

"It was definitely a noticeable difference. I was very pleased with Procera AVH and happy to know it will help me stay at my best."

Neural Pathways, Revitalized!

Three clinically validated brain boosting nutrients in Reynolds' formula have been shown to "light up aging brains like a Christmas tree."

Frustrated and concerned about her "alarming rate" of memory loss, 54-year-old Elizabeth K., Rochester, New York, discovered a natural memory pill that changed her life.

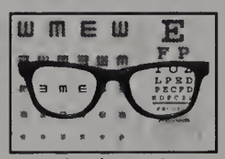
Procera revitalizes tired sluggish brains cells with a fresh supply of oxygen and key vital nutrients. Plus, it helps restore depleted neurotransmitters, which may help increase and enhance alertness, concentration, and memory.

"We included acetyl-l-carnitine, a natural modified amino acid with a proven record of memory enhancement," says Reynolds.

"It's the same brain nutrient found in cold-water fish, but you'd have to eat over 20 servings of fish to get what's in one daily dose of Procera AVH."

The formula also contains vinpocetine, a substance that helps deliver increased oxygen and glucose to your brain. "Vinpocetine helps increase circulation in the brain, so your brain feels more alive, like a breath of fresh air," says Reynolds.

The third ingredient is huperzine, a potent plant chemical shown to improve learning and memory at all ages. "Students may do better in school when they take it," adds Reynolds.



Age-related vision loss is easily corrected with glasses. A novel drug-free compound has been found to help fight age-related memory loss and poor mental clarity in as little as 30 days.

"And the US government has been studying huperzine's neuroprotective powers against the brain-damaging effects of pesticides in food."

Selwyn Howell credits Reynolds' memory pill with bolstering his confidence. "It helped me speak out more than I used to. I am growing more confident every day."

Carey S. reports, "I feel so much more focused and with the new energy I'm now ready to tackle the things I've been putting off for years!"

Get a FREE Bonus Supply And a FREE Book, Too!

Try Procera AVH Risk-Free today and receive a Free Bonus Supply along with a free copy of medically acclaimed *20/20 Brainpower: 20 Days to A Quicker, Calmer, Sharper Mind!*, a $20 value.

Procera AVH is the leading US brain health supplement. It is clinically shown to help improve memory, mood and mental clarity! And it comes with a 90-day satisfaction guarantee so you can experience the long-term results risk-free, too!

Free Rapid Detox Formula for First 500 Callers!

Reynolds is also including, with the first 500 orders, a FREE supply of his powerful brain detox formula, Ceraplex, scientifically designed to help flush away environmental toxins from the brain to help enhance memory and focus even further. This is a special introductory offer and supplies are limited, so call now.

Call Toll-Free! 1-800-646-0090

This product is not intended to diagnose, treat, cure or prevent any disease. These statements have not been evaluated by the FDA.

UCLA is not involved in the product described in this material. The reference to Dr. Heller should not be construed as an endorsement by UCLA.

away all state funding from Planned Parenthood. In the current session, state Republicans plan to introduce new restrictions that will make it more humiliating and difficult for women seeking abortions, including a bill that requires that doctors make women look at ultrasound pictures of their fetuses, a complete ban on abortion after twenty weeks with no exceptions for women's health, a "personhood amendment" that confers full legal rights on embryos, and new state funding for anti-choice "crisis pregnancy centers."

Congressman Paul Ryan just introduced a personhood amendment, which could, among other consequences, redefine common forms of birth control like the pill and the IUD as weapons of murder.

The Republican attacks on women's health care—and Planned Parenthood in particular—are especially maddening because they don't reduce abortion rates. They just increase misery.

Women in regions of the country and the world with more liberal abortion laws—and better information and access to birth control—have fewer abortions.

At current rates, one in three American women will have an abortion by age forty-five. Almost half of the women who find themselves in an abortion clinic have not been using birth control—because they were worried about using it, couldn't get it, or didn't know that they could get pregnant.

It doesn't have to be this way.

Middle class and wealthy women all over this country have grown accustomed to shame-free reproductive health care, access to birth control in college, and a world in which back-alley abortions are a medieval notion from a distant, wretched past.

Poor women are not so lucky.

All of us need to wake up and realize how shockingly retrograde the current direction of women's health policy really is.

What are we to do in this political environment?

Here are a few suggestions:

—Keep the public pressure on elected officials.

Don't give up and sit back just because you are on the losing side in one particular district at one particular time. The anti-abortion folks sure haven't done that.

Even if your state and federal representatives are good ol' boys with a slut-shaming, "aspirin-between-the-knees" mentality, they need to experience some pressure from their pro-choice constituents. The Movement for Leaving Women Alone needs to make its voice heard, too, and make clear that when our representatives throw red meat to conservatives with their extreme anti-women's-health measures, their constituents are paying attention. If the 2012 election shows anything, it's that voters are sick and tired of Republicans using women's health to score points with their rabidly out-of-it base.

It's time for women to come out of the closet and stand up, in public, for reproductive rights.

—Choose Planned Parenthood as your health-care provider. Many health insurance policies allow you to go to Planned Parenthood. Do it. Women's health care clinics should be for everyone, not just for those who have no other option. Especially as Planned Parenthood loses state funding, more women choosing to go there will help keep these clinics going—and also bring together women from every background, which feels good.

—Share your story. I recently emceed an event marking the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, put on by Planned Parenthood of Wisconsin, that featured the riveting personal stories of women whose lives have been touched by Planned Parenthood and *Roe*. Planned Parenthood is collecting personal testimony from women all over America. You can share your story, too, at http://www.plannedparenthoodaction.org/positions/share-your-story-1046.htm.

—Be vigilant. Sign up for Action Alerts from Planned Parenthood so you can get involved at both the state and national level when urgent policy issues that affect women's health come up.

Most of all, it's time for women to come out of the closet and stand up, in public, for reproductive rights.

Yes, birth control and abortion and annual pap smears and breast cancer screenings are private matters. We shouldn't have to speak out and march, or deal with creepy people with gory signs, or generally go out in public and take a big, loud political position to get these basic forms of health care.

But guess what? Those out-of-it men who haven't got the memo that women expect these things to be a regular, non-negotiable, no-big-deal part of our lives are still directing policy. We have no choice but to push back.

And by doing that—by standing up together for our vision of a better world—we can force our country to leave the pre-*Roe* Stone Age of women's health behind, once and for all. ◆

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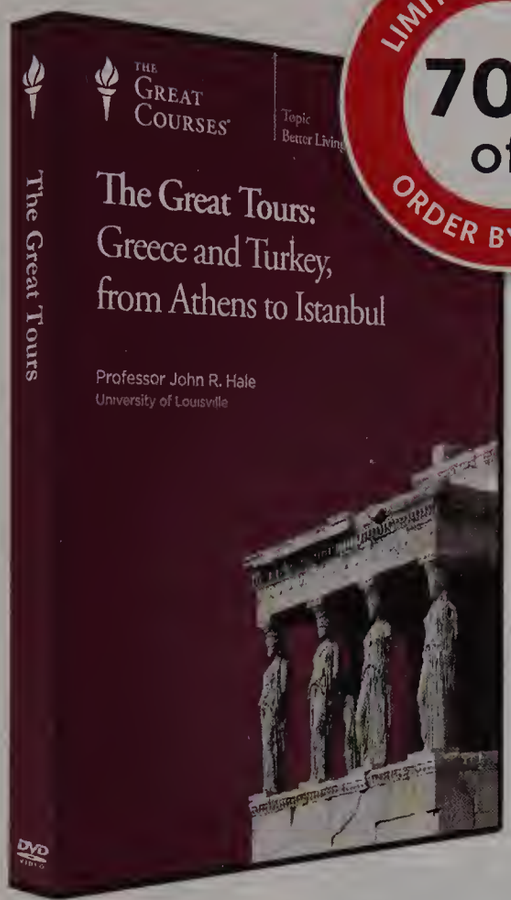

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Open Space Terry Tempest Williams

In the Shadow of Dr. Tiller

On the fortieth anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, hundreds of us who had tickets in hand to see the premiere of *After Tiller* at the Sundance Film Festival in Park City, Utah, were wanded and searched by police before entering the theater. It was a sobering moment.

On Sunday, May 31, 2009, George Tiller was gunned down at the Reformation Lutheran Church in Wichita, Kansas. He was one of the few doctors in America who performed late-term abortions. His assailant, Scott Roeder, was an anti-abortion activist who killed Dr. Tiller without regrets, simply stating, "Unborn children's lives were in imminent danger."

Two young women, Martha Shane and Lana Wilson, both in their late twenties, have now made this film, which focuses on the four colleagues he left behind. Three of the doctors—LeRoy Carhart, Susan Robinson, and Shelley Sella—all worked in Dr. Tiller's Wichita clinic. Warren Hern, a late-term abortion specialist, runs the Boulder Abortion Clinic in Colorado.

KOREN SHADMI

In an interview shortly after Dr. Tiller's assassination, Dr. Hern, who had five bullets come through his clinic's window in 1988, said this: "Every doctor in this country who does abortions lives under death threats. People talk about the debate over abortion. It's not a debate. This is a civil war, and the anti-abortion fanatics are using bullets and bombs."

Dr. Hern and the three other doctors who attended the premiere were given added security and protection from the FBI.

After Tiller focuses on complexities. No one comes to a doctor for a late-term abortion after a twenty-week pregnancy lightly. Many are women with planned pregnancies who find out late that there is something terribly wrong with the baby they are carrying. So they are not just going through a grueling procedure; they are grieving the loss of a child they dreamed of and wanted.

Yes, it is a choice, but not a choice made without a soul-stirring struggle. "It's guilt no matter which way you go," says one of the women who is choosing to terminate her pregnancy after finding out her fetus was facing a terminally incapacitating disability. "Guilty if you go ahead and do what we're doing or guilty if you bring him into the world because he would have no quality of life."

We watch her hands fidgeting as she holds a tissue. Anguish and empathy flood the screen.

The doctors struggle alongside their patients. "I think about what I do all the time," says Dr. Shelley Sella, who works with Dr. Susan Robinson at the Southwestern Women's Options clinic in Albuquerque. "At times I struggle, and at times I don't, but I always come back to the woman and what she's going through and often what life will this baby have? What will it mean to be alive with horrible fetal abnormalities? It's not just about being alive. It's about life and what that means."

Nine states allow for third-trimester abortions. Dr. Giovannina

---

Terry Tempest Williams's new book, "When Women Were Birds," received a starred review in Publisher's Weekly. It is now available in paperback by Picador.

Anthony, an ob-gyn in Wyoming who has supported women who choose to have abortions, said, "Third-trimester abortions are extremely rare. They account for less than 1 percent of all abortions in the United States."

To see the human side of the four remaining doctors who follow in Dr. Tiller's footsteps is to feel deeply grateful for the option that still remains for women and couples in need of this difficult procedure.

Throughout the film, you listen to their stories: the couple whose baby has no chance of surviving; a woman who suffered the denial of rape, unable to cope with what lies ahead; and those women who hit the wall of poverty, of not being able to financially take care of another child. These were among the hardest to absorb. Most of the women worried how they would face their family and friends who were expectant with the joy and anticipation of a new being about to be born into the world.

Again, Dr. Sella counsels her patients:

Here are four sentences that can help you:

The baby was sick.

We went for testing.

The baby didn't make it.

It's hard for me to talk about it right now.

And the doctor repeats the four sentences once again for the patient to remember, so she can return home with something meaningful and true to share with loved ones.

Annette P. Cumming, a former nurse and lifelong advocate for women's reproductive health who serves on the national board of Planned Parenthood, appreciated the candor of the film. "I was deeply moved," she said. "*After Tiller* challenges even the assumptions of progressives."

She is talking about the fact that a late-term abortion can be a four-day procedure. "I didn't know that," Annette said. The woman must first participate in a counseling session; she returns to take a drug to ripen and dilate the cervix; the doctor then euthanizes the baby; the woman is induced and goes into active labor; and finally, the woman gives birth to a stillborn.

Surprisingly to some, Dr. Sella says on camera, "This is not a fetus. It is a baby." As Annette said to me after the film, "There is no distancing of language here." The baby aborted is held. We see one of the mothers who chooses to have her baby's hands and feet stamped and recorded in ink. It is impossible not to feel the grief that precedes and follows the delivery.

"The only time you'd be saying hello to your baby is when you are saying goodbye," Dr. Carhart says.

The women return to counseling after the delivery, and we see each one of them expressing a sense of relief, not regret. But it is not without the knife-blade of grief for the child they had dreamed of mothering.

Each of the doctors has paid a price.

The film highlights the personal life of each doctor. Both the male doctors, Dr. LeRoy Carhart and Dr. Warren Hern, served in the military. Dr. Hern was a physician in the Peace Corps. They are angry and determined to carry on the work of Dr. Tiller.

Dr. Susan Robinson and Dr. Shelley Sella seem more private in their work, traveling constantly from their respective homes in California, where they live, to New Mexico, where they practice.

Each of the physicians early in their medical careers made a decision to help women in the name of a just and democratic society. The judgmental and violent opposition against abortions bothered them. "A woman's body is smarter than the doctor's," commented Robinson. "They deserve to be given a safe choice regarding their own reproductive decisions."

Each of the doctors has paid a price.

Dr. Carhart's family stables were burned to the ground in Nebraska. Hey lost seventeen horses. Arson. In a letter that followed the fire, the protesters justified the killing of horses "since you kill children." It was his daughter's twenty-first birthday.

Dr. Hern, now more than seventy years old, has received "thousands of death threats." He has often slept with a rifle, and lives with the possibility that he might be shot every time he walks out the door. He is outspoken and resolute in his determination to continue his practice.

Dr. Robinson lives in a remote location in the mountains. One police officer, upon checking to see if she was safe, said, "Even the best sniper in the country would have a hard time getting a shot at this house."

And Dr. Sella said that she believes it was easier for her to "come out as being gay than it is for most women to admit to having had an abortion."

This is a film about hands. The hands of the doctors who deliver the babies, stillborn, not kicking.

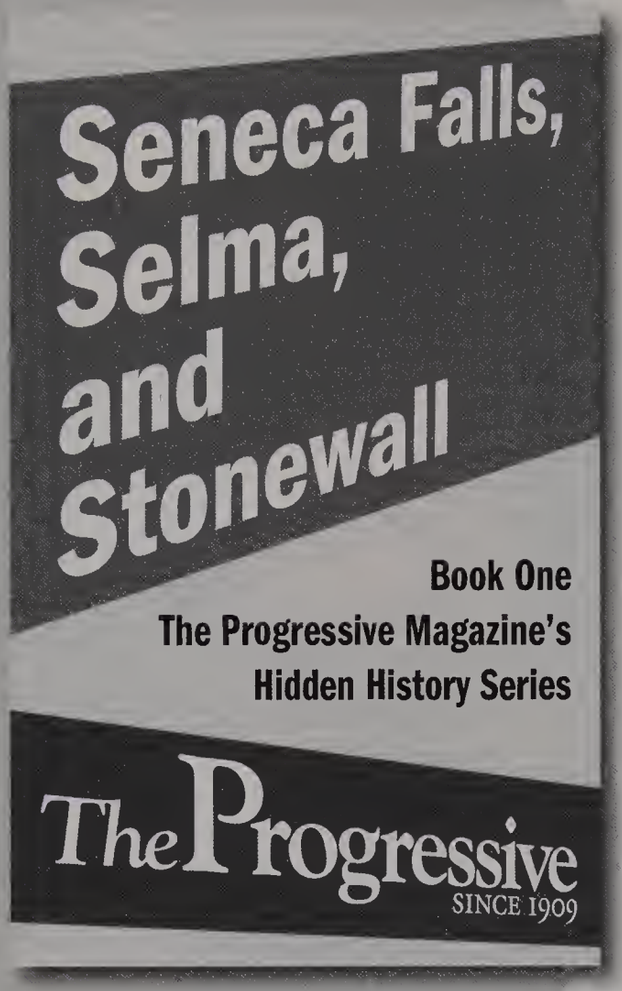
The hands of Susan Robinson covering her face as she ponders another young woman's story and whether as a physician of late-term abortions, she says yes or no.

"Who am I to say, 'No, that's not a good enough story'? What if you're just not a good storyteller? The point is," Robinson says, "she has made this decision. If I'm going to turn down a patient, it's because it's not safe and I can't take care of her."

There are the hands of Dr. Hern as he holds a young woman in his arms who has been raped and cannot stop crying.

Introducing a new line of eBooks from *The Progressive* Magazine

When President Obama, in his Second Inaugural address, declared "that all of us are created equal" and that this principle "is the star that guides us still, just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall," he laid out a vision of our country's progressive values and the historic journey toward a more just society that includes women's rights, racial equality, gay rights, and immigrant rights.



Here at *The Progressive* magazine, we've been documenting that journey for the last 104 years.

This month, we are launching a new "Hidden History" e-book series: monthly installments of riveting selections from our archives.

Newly digitized and fully searchable, our archives are a treasure trove of progressive history, beginning with the magazine's founding in 1909 by Fighting Bob La Follette, who declared, "In the course of every attempt to establish or develop free government, a struggle between Special Privilege and Equal Rights is inevitable."

The Progressive documented that struggle, throughout its early, suffragist years under the guidance of Belle Case La Follette, during the great civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s, and with joyful declarations of gay liberation by Allen Ginsberg and Harry Hay, founder of the modern gay rights movement, who said in a *Progressive* interview: "We have to be people who set each other free."

We hope you find these selections, liberated from *The Progressive*'s archives, inspiring.

To be notified when each title is available and how to purchase it, please send an e-mail to ebooks@progressive.org.

The hands of Dr. Carhart as he carries his doctor's bag and walks past the protesters chanting, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Roe v. Wade, it's time to go," and opens the door to a new late-term abortion clinic in Maryland against vitriolic opposition.

. "People can disagree, but here we are. We are taking care of women," Dr. Carhart says. He, too, is a Christian.

After Tiller is a brilliant and brave film about taking an issue that has divided us for decades and showing us through the personal histories and practices of these four doctors who perform late-term abortions that first and foremost we are all human in our struggle to live a dignified and ethical life.

"To lift back the curtain and see how the doctors and their patients really wrestle with the moral dilemmas and choices before them is what we wanted to bring to the audience," said Lana Wilson, co-director of *After Tiller,* during the question and answer period following the film. "These are doctors striving to care for their patients; they are not ideologues or zealots."

For the first time in a while, public opinion on abortion appears to be moving in a progressive direction. An NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, taken on the fortieth anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, showed 70 percent of Americans oppose overturning the controversial Supreme Court decision.

After Tiller opens the door to a mature discussion about the realities of women's reproductive health, allowing us to embrace the controversies and complexities associated with late-term abortions.

This is a film about listening.

Imagine if we as a society could offer our compassion, instead of our judgments. To do otherwise is to deny the terrible bind that so many women find themselves in—and the anguish they go through in navigating their way through the emotional pain back to some semblance of peace. ◆

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By Bill Fletcher Jr.
Illustration by Caitlin Kuhwald

For Labor, What's After Michigan?

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN Michigan is the latest victim of a slow-acting poison that has spread through the political system over the last sixty years.

The new "right to work" law in the cradle of industrial unionism is, in part, the lingering result of the Taft-Hartley Act passed by a Republican-dominated Congress in 1947. Taft-Hartley was part of a Cold War attack on progressive movements, including organized labor.

Contrary to what conservative pundits say, "right to work" does not offer workers in unionized facilities a choice of representation. Instead, it prohibits unions—which are obligated by law to represent, fairly and equally, all workers in a unionized facility—from automatically getting dues from all workers. By starving unions this way, "right to work" purely and simply deprives them of the ability to fully represent their members and potential members. It is a weapon of war against workers.

Though President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act, the Republicans overrode the veto. The left wing of organized labor consistently demanded that the movement mount a campaign against "right to work." The movement refused. Labor leaders assumed that

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Bill Fletcher Jr. is a racial justice, labor, and international activist and writer. He is the co-author (with Fernando Gapasin) of "Solidarity Divided," which addresses the crisis in organized labor, and is the author of " 'They're Bankrupting Us!'—and 20 Other Myths About Unions." He can be reached through www.billfletcherjr.com.

the poison could be contained in the South and the Southwest. It didn't work out that way.

The "right to work" victory in Michigan was predictable but not inevitable. It was predictable because organized labor never amassed the political will to mount a sustained campaign against "right to work" or a successful campaign to organize the South and the Southwest. This failure was the result of changes that began to take place at the same time that Taft-Hartley was passed. In the late 1940s, with the Cold War purge of leftist leaders and members, organized labor abdicated its role as the primary agent for broad-based economic justice for the working class. Instead, it came to mirror a trade association.

In addition, as corporations became more aggressively—and often illegally—anti-union, the percentage of workers formally represented by labor unions declined dramatically. What we are now witnessing is the final offensive of the corporate class to eliminate labor unions altogether. The intersection of these factors made Michigan predictable.

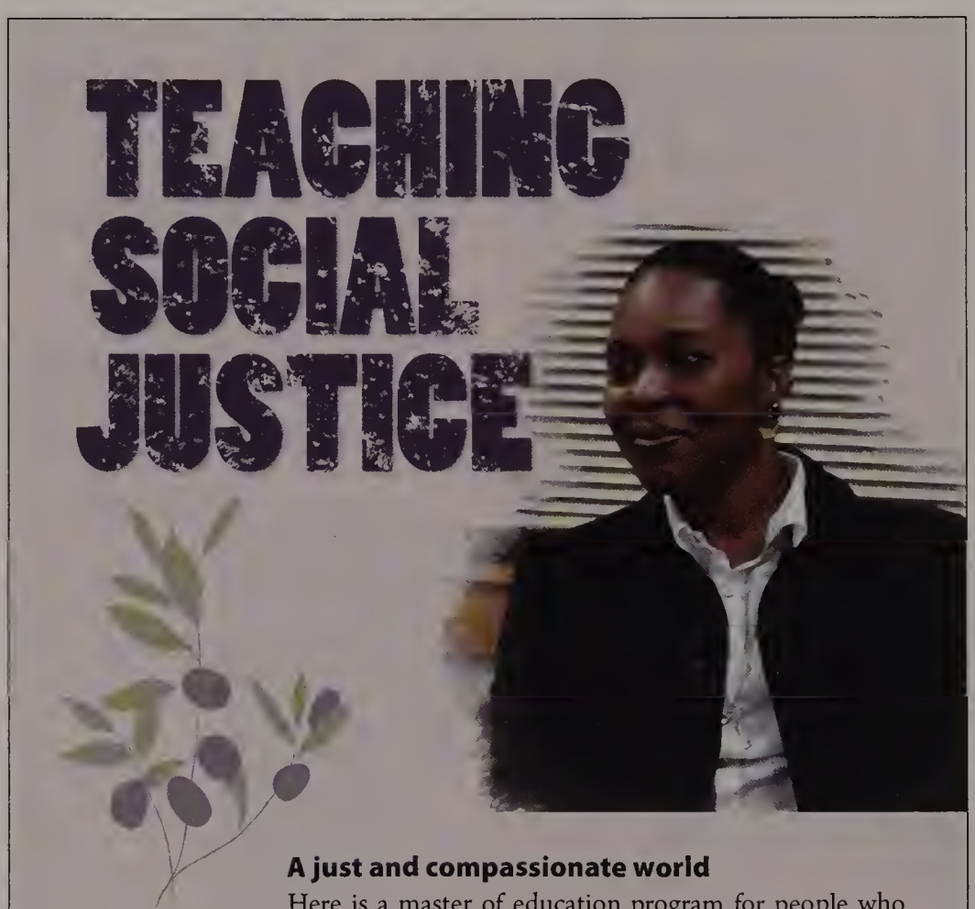
The Michigan blowup does not mean the end of organized labor but it should serve as a warning: "Right to work" cannot be contained and will become the law of the land in the United States unless there is a counteroffensive mounted by a renewed labor movement.

The seeds of renewal can be seen, both within organized labor and outside of the formal structures of the labor union movement.

The Chicago teachers' strike is a major example of a different approach to unionism that transformed a battle between teachers and the city into a struggle led by a union on behalf of parents and students. The strikes by thousands of workers at Walmart facilities shook not only that corporation but much of the employer class. A strike by dockworkers on the West Coast and a near-strike by dockworkers on the East Coast pointed to the continued vulnerability of contemporary capitalism to mass action by workers.

The rise of the New York Taxi Workers Alliance and the spread of taxi worker unionism to other parts of the country demonstrated that workers who have been so restricted by the law can find a means for collective action. The emergence of the National Domestic Workers Alliance gave evidence of an "invisible" workforce movement. The National Day Laborer Organizing Network fused the fight for immigrant rights with the fight for economic justice. And independent worker centers have developed over the last twenty years addressing the needs of the working poor.

Although most of these advances have not taken place within the context of organized labor, they nevertheless point in the direction of a



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reconstruction and redefinition of a labor movement for the twenty-first century.

As labor asks itself, "After Michigan, what?" we must accept that what is necessary is not reform but reformation.

Let's take a look at two recent failures: the 2012 recall effort in Wisconsin and the 2012 attempt at a pro-collective bargaining constitutional amendment in Michigan. There were two conceptual problems with both efforts.

First, these efforts appeared to much of the outside world as selfish—efforts aimed at protecting not the rights of workers but the institutional interests of organizations called labor unions. If you're not a member of a union, why should you support such efforts?

The second problem goes even deeper: Millions of people in the United States have no idea what a labor union is. This is no exaggeration. As the percentage of workers represented by unions declines, and the right advances its anti-union propaganda, huge chunks of the population have no, or very distorted, knowledge of unions. When people do not understand the issue or when they feel that it does not concern them, it is that much harder to win. Certainly there are some victories, such as when Ohio overturned its anti-collective bargaining act. But these are exceptions.

An alternative approach would focus on what writer Barbara Ehrenreich, as well as the national AFL-CIO, has suggested: rights at work. The authoritarian atmosphere of most workplaces in the United States is something around which there is a code of silence. Workers know that such an atmosphere exists, and they are trained to accept it. Even many union organizers fail to address the absence of basic democratic rights in the workplace. Yet this authoritarian environment crushes workers every day, through the absence of their right to freedom of speech or freedom of association, not to mention the freedom that should arise from a truly safe workplace.

The struggles in both Wisconsin and Michigan could have been reframed as economic justice battles addressing both the living standard of the average worker (which has been stagnant or declining since the middle 1970s) and the absence of basic democratic rights in the workplace.

This is more than a matter of public relations. It is a matter of reframing the raison d'être of unions themselves. The union must become an instrument in the battle for economic and social justice—not for workers who are lucky enough to be union members, but for the larger working class. Thinking in those terms would have profound ramifications.

Our strategies have largely failed and our forms of organization are, at best, antiquated.

Yet the changes cannot stop there. Organized labor must also incorporate the new forces that are emerging in the nontraditional sectors. And it must recognize that its battles are objectively more radical than in the recent past. The changes in the economy—what with the dramatic polarization of wealth and power along with the shift toward neoliberal economics—mean that organized labor must rally supporters to pressure government to serve the interests of the majority. These are battles on behalf of the broader working class around health care, taxes, education, the environment, and basic democratic rights in and out of the workplace.

As Fernando Gapasin and I discussed in our book, *Solidarity Divided*, strategic alliances can begin at the local level with a determined effort on the part of labor unions and their community-based allies to identify a common agenda. Central labor councils and organizations such as Jobs with Justice can play an instrumental role in helping to convene such efforts.

What unions must understand in embarking on this path, however, is that these cannot be transactional relationships. These must be relationships of strategic solidarity where there is the building of a basis for a new majority.

The agenda will look different in each locale, but what these efforts will share in common is that they will inevitably move in the direction of structural reforms, such as Medicare for All, tax policies that really redistribute the wealth, and job creation that is linked with preserving the environment. The agenda, in other words, is not "more"; it is an agenda that needs to be based on justice and sustainability.

Undertaking such struggles will necessitate rethinking the sorts of demands that need to be advanced, but will ultimately involve a true fight for power. The power for which we must fight will be at the economic and political levels and will necessitate the sorts of alliances that organized labor has largely refused to consider.

Taking such steps will mean recognizing that our strategies have largely failed and that our forms of organization are, at best, antiquated. For too many leaders of our movement, this is a very scary proposition. Nevertheless, either they will have to come to grips with the reality of the brave new neoliberal world or they must be encouraged to retire. Time is of the essence. ◆

By Joseph Mayton
Illustration by Louisa Bertman

Syrian Brides for Sale

ZAATARI REFUGEE CAMP, Jordan. Life here for single Syrian women is not easy. Their families, desperately short of money, often marry them off on the cheap. Widows also take the bait.

Rania is a thirty-two-year-old single mother of two young children. Her husband was killed in a Syrian military onslaught last year. A Saudi national had come to the camp in September, meandering through the tents until he spotted Rania.

Rania shows the bruises on her arms, black and blue from beatings she has endured. She says this is what happens to Syrian women when they are forced to marry.

"My life changed when my husband was murdered," she says. "Then we came to the camp and a nice man came by and asked to marry me and help me support my children. I didn't know what else to do. With winter coming, I thought it would be best for them."

Joseph Mayton is the editor of bikyanews.com and is a longtime journalist based in the Middle East.

Agreeing to marry her husband, whom she refused to name, was a hard decision. She said that when the man came to the camp, she had been sitting with a number of other widows. He spoke "softly and gently," as if he were kind, which Rania says he was for weeks after the two wed.

"But then it became clear what my purpose was for him," she says. "I was his maid who he would sleep with. I found out a month after we were married that he had another family and wife in Saudi. This was very hard to deal with. When I got angry about it, that's when the violence started. I couldn't take it."

So she ran away and returned to the refugee camp. "I hope I can go home, back to Syria," she says.

Not every marriage fares this badly. In a Jordanian café in the upscale Abdoun neighborhood, a couple sits quietly, hands interlocked, as the husband answers my questions with ease. Hassan is Jordanian, and he is fifteen years older than his Syrian wife, Sahar.

"We met when a friend of mine became a guardian for a few Syrian refugees from the Zaatari refugee camp," he says. "I love my wife, and we hope to start a family soon."

When Hassan leaves for the bathroom, Sahar says that while her situation is a pleasant one, for other Syrian women from Zaatari, the situation is often abusive.

One of her friends at the camp, roughly the same age, was forced to meet with two elderly men, one Jordanian and the other Saudi. She was forced to stand up and show herself to them.

"I saw this happen with my own eyes," Sahar says. "She and other women are forced to almost model in front of men who come to the camp with the intention of marrying them. Then, when their families agree, it is shocking what happens."

Sahar says she knows three or four Syrian women who have been beaten by their husbands for refusing sex, for talking with other men, or for "overstepping their rules."

"It is a horrible situation what many of the women are put into simply because we have no home and men will pay our families to marry us. Syrian women are cheaper," she says.

"The thing that frustrates me the most about what is going on in the camps here in Jordan and in Lebanon is that many of the girls and young women are being purchased by people to work as sex slaves," she says. "This is sad. We leave a war to then be sold as cattle to the highest bidder? That is not right, and I hope people start to speak out."

When Hassan returns, we engage in more conversation. Then, as he is leaving, he hands over a piece of paper, with $3,000 written on it. This, I assume, is the amount he paid to Sahar's family, and according to one Jordanian aid worker in Zaatari, "nearly half as much as what would normally have been paid."

But for Sahar's family, that money has done wonders to change their circumstances and make life tolerable.

The Zaatari camp is a vast expanse of white tents, all plastered with the U.N. High Commission for Refugees emblem on their sides. Many of the flaps do not even touch the dirt ground, as the cold November wind tears through the camp.

Thousands of Syrians languish in the elements, many of whom have little more than the clothes they crossed the border with. They don't have much to do except drink tea and wait.

Sahar's family has come from Dara'a, just across the Jordanian border and still within view of those who have fled the ongoing violence in Syria.

When Hassan came to ask for Sahar's hand in marriage a month ago, tensions grew. But the father remained calm, and after hours of tea, he said he agreed to give his twenty-three-year-old daughter away.

"What was I supposed to do, let her stay here and suffer like the rest of us?" the father, Abu Ismail, asks. "Hassan is a nice man, and he was genuine and met all the requirements of the family duty, so we allowed it to happen."

Among those requirements was a dowry. "Syrian families don't ask for as much as Jordanian families," one American aid worker says bluntly, "and this is a way to get some people out of the camps. The aid organizations turn a blind eye."

But at the camp, there is resistance. The al-Dayat family has two single women in their twenties. If a Jordanian or Saudi man came to their tent and asked for one of the women's hand in marriage, "we would beat them so bad," says one of the family members.

A sixty-two-year-old matriarch lost her husband and two eldest sons in the violence across the border. She has her two daughters with her in Zaatari, and she knows their value.

"Women here are a business," the woman says. "Men will come to the camp and start walking around. They are supposed to be coming as guardians, but we know what their real intentions are. They want to buy women for their pleasure."

For her two daughters, marriage is off the table: "If a man comes to me and wants to buy my daughters, I will tell him to go to hell, but I am lucky because we have blankets."

She tells of how two girls from the nearby tent were recently, in her words, "sold" to a Jordanian man who has since sent them to Saudi Arabia to be the second and third wives of Saudi men.

"We women are the worst off," she says. "We are abused, beaten, and forced to be married to men without any real input. This is why losing our country is hard."

Mohamed Shenu, who runs a campaign against Syrian women being purchased by non-Syrians from

the camps, believes that many of the women are being "bought to be men's sex slaves."

He says that for every "real" marriage like Hassan and Sahar's, "there are more where the women are abused and are being used. But no authority is looking into the matter here in Jordan because they don't seem to care."

At the heart of the issue is the guardian system that has been implemented by the Jordanian government and the U.N. refugee agency, whereby a Syrian can get approval to leave the camp and live with a Jordanian family.

"It has to be approved by the government, and then if they get into trouble, the Jordanian guardian will also get into trouble," says Tala Kattan, the assistant external relations officer at the UNHCR in Jordan.

She is not keen on going into depth on the guardian system and the upsurge in the number of Syrian women marrying Jordanian or other foreign nationals.

One Syrian activist named Huda, who has been working with Syrian women refugees, is wary: "If the men come to the camps and then use the guardianship system to have a beautiful woman come out, how is that not a red flag? The Jordanian government should not be in the business of female exploitation. If a Syrian woman is getting married, they should want to know why."

Those in support of the guardian system, and subsequently the marriages of Syrian women, argue it is assisting families to move on and deal with the tragedy that has befallen them.

Ayman al-Thaer, a member of the Jordanian Hashemite Charity Organization, is quick to point out that his uncle had married a Syrian woman the previous month. He believes his family has done the Syrian woman's family a favor.

"They don't have to worry about an extra mouth to feed and now they have some money to save for when the war in Syria is over," he argues.

Abu Ismail recognizes the harsh realities. "Many of our families have no money," he says, "and we all need blankets and things for the winter, so if we get a few thousand dollars by marrying our daughters, then it is something we think hard about, and this is what we do."

With the money he received from Hassan, he says he has been buying blankets for many families, especially those with young children or babies. ◆

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FIRST PERSON SINGULAR
by Juleyka Lantigua-Williams

Teaching in the Real World

I TEACH AT A COMMUNITY COLLEGE, AND IT'S THE HARDEST AND most rewarding job I've ever had. The diversity (economic, educational, ethnic, racial, and religious) and talent (artistic, intellectual, and physical) that exist at a community college like mine are endless. And I draw constant inspiration from my students.

Like Ethna, a physician in her native Haiti, who is trying to master English to pass the board exams.

Or Terry, an unemployed, uninsured single father who, following an accident that broke his jaw, which was wired shut, still arrived two hours early so he could type his papers in our multimedia classroom.

Or Joseph, an older family man and former addict enrolled in the drug-counselor-training program, who proudly boasted to our class that the first e-mail he ever sent was to me about an assignment.

Or Helen, a mother of three who started college in my developmental writing class and is now an honors nursing student currently doing her practicum at a Yale University hospital.

Each of these students stands in for countless peers with harrowing, uplifting, and inspiring life stories.

From the seventeen-year-old high school graduate to the seventy-year-old veteran, my students face many challenges.

Newly minted high school graduates are often overwhelmed by the mere idea of being in college, navigating the new social structure, meeting the wide array of professors' expectations, even simply getting to class without a bell prodding them. They need me to be clear about what to expect in my class and what I expect from them. They want due dates, page counts, and the exact number of required sources. They may be planning to transfer to a four-year school or enter the police academy upon graduation, or may be in line for our competitive nursing program, so the priority is simply to check off everything that is required along the way.

There are thirteen million students at the 1,132 community colleges in the country, and many—if not most—of these students treat being at a community college like having a guided roadmap for getting ahead. This is understandable, given the essential role that community colleges play as bridges to higher learning and specialized careers. In fact, just about 80 percent of firefighters, law enforcement officers, and emergency medical personnel are trained at colleges like mine, according to the American Association of Community Colleges.

Juleyka Lantigua-Williams is a writer, editor, and journalist who teaches writing at Naugatuck Valley Community College in Waterbury, Connecticut.

Because I teach writing, which is a core requirement, I see students like this every semester. It's hard to argue with someone who does everything by the book. If I ask for five sources and the student gives me five, why isn't that an "A"? I often say, "Good question." And then the learning begins. I urge the student to find a wider variety of sources, to not rely on Wikipedia, and to cite sources in a proper way. I remind the student that all major assignments in my class can be revised, so I give him some pointers and send the student back to the library.

For students who are dwelling on the requirements they need to fulfill, I gently extol the merits of learning (critical thinking, creativity, originality, making connections, marshaling facts, questioning authority) and the inherent rewards in seeking and finding knowledge.

Sometimes I openly praise students for making beautiful mistakes because making mistakes is often risky for students at community colleges, 42 percent of whom are the first in their families to attend. An initial challenge may be a deeply rooted insecurity about their chances to succeed in college. A lack of role models who have earned degrees and who can help them through the college maze—from admission to graduation—sometimes unhinges students. Quite often, it leads to tears. The pressure of doing well can put incredible strain on students. During office hours, I sometimes find myself joking, "There's no crying in English Composition!"

Such sobering moments of vulnerability remind me that, as their teacher, I have the delicate responsibility of bolstering students' faith in themselves.

Some ask me plainly if I think they will pass my class or if I think they belong in college. I turn it around and ask them: "What do you want to get out of college?"

Their answers often reveal complicated lives.

Soldiers returning from war seeking to make a life beyond the scars.

Young women who want for themselves the dreams their mothers passed on—for independence, for stability, for opportunity.

JACQUI OAKLEY

Recent immigrants with a generation's hope bound up in their GPA.

Maybe knowing so much about my students is distracting. Maybe their experience should be kept outside my classroom and my office. Maybe I should stick to the lesson plan and let each student seal her own fate.

I simply refuse.

I refuse because I cannot separate the learning from the learner.

I refuse because, as an immigrant, I am not too far removed from a life similar to the ones my students are trying to improve.

I refuse because I have seen firsthand my individual students be catalysts for generational change in their families.

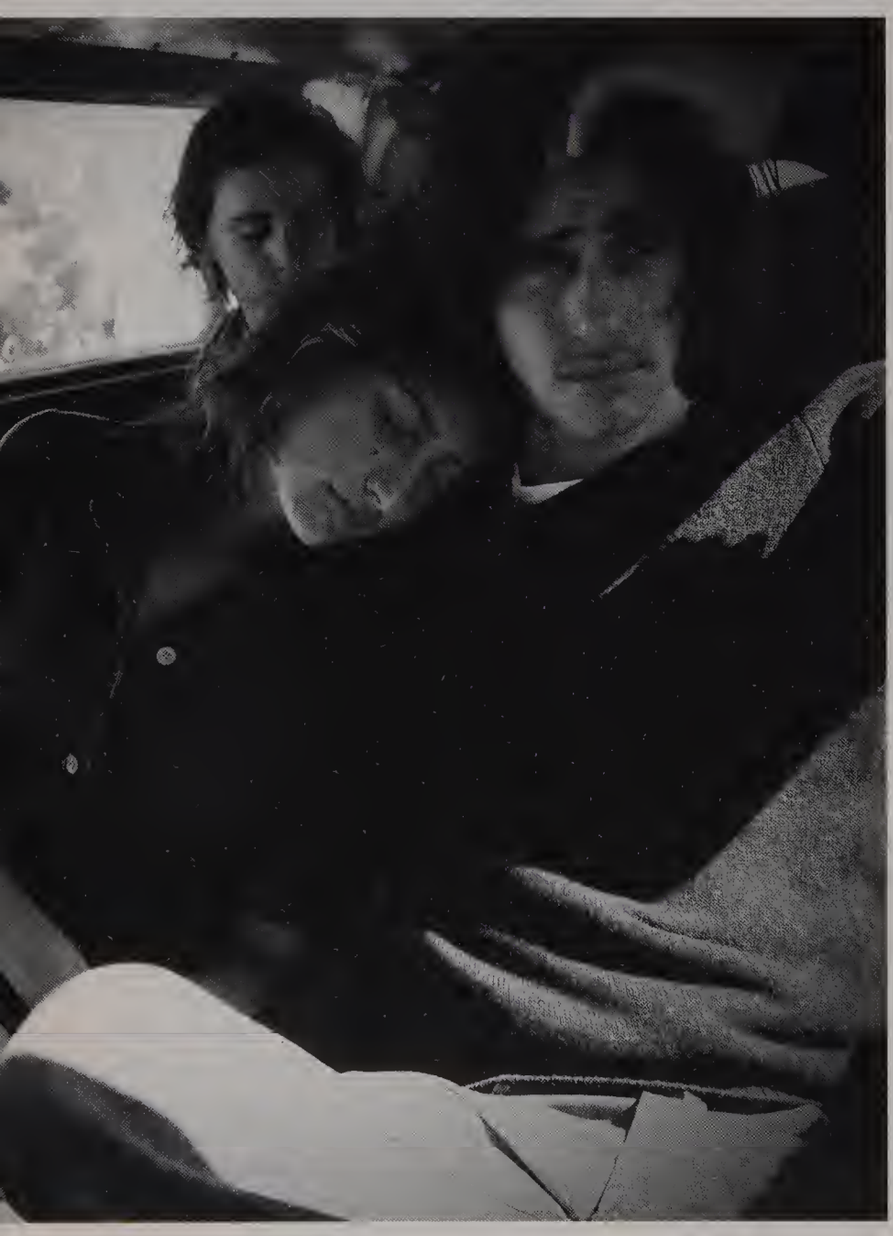
Like Jill, a grandmother who signed herself and her daughter-in-law up for my developmental writing class. (Two years later, I clapped furiously for them as they crossed the stage at graduation.)

Or Anna, who pushed her little brother into my composition class with a stern warning to take it very seriously.

As a teacher, I try to remain aware of the opportunities—met and missed—that are presented to my students and me. I start every semester hoping we miss fewer and meet more before we get to the final exam. ◆

By Ed Rampell

Cineaste of '68



OLIVIER ASSAYAS HAS SHORT gray hair, is slim, of medium height, and dresses casually. He speaks deliberately, intently, in accented English, but he laughs easily. The 1968 student-worker mass strike in Paris had a profound influence on the French filmmaker. He explores the after-effects of this uprising in his latest movie, *Après Mai* (*After May*), which is entitled *Something in the Air* for its American release this spring, naturally.

He describes for me the sixty-eighters' ethos: "There was a sense of hope," he says. "There was a belief in the future. There was this hatred and suspicion of the present." People expected that the revolution was happening right then, he adds. "Everything was political."

Something in the Air follows the bouncing ball of revolutionary zeal to 1971 when a ragtag group of

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L.A.-based film historian/critic Ed Rampell is the author of "Progressive Hollywood: A People's Film History of the United States," a co-founder of HollywoodProgressive .com, and co-founder of the James Agee Cinema Circle, an international left-leaning group of critics who annually award the Progies for Best Progressive Films and Filmmakers. Rampell is currently co-writing his third movie history book with Luis Reyes on the films and TV shows of Hawaii since 1995.

ardent, helmeted, but outgunned high school militants desperately fought vicious *voltigeurs* (armed motorcycle riot police), who banned their demonstration, then hunted them down. *Air* traces the trajectory of these French youths as they wend their ways through this tumult, when it seemed there was still a world to win.

Assayas stresses the extraordinary involvement of young people in politics at that time, saying, with a laugh, that it "seems like science fiction when seen from the perspective of today."

His film revolves around Gilles (Clément Métayer), a pupil with artistic aspirations who dispenses *Tout*, the newspaper of the Vive la Revolution anarchist group, outside his school. Gilles's life intertwines with various friends, comrades, and his lovers, Laure (Carole Combes) and Christine (Lola Créton). Along the way, we see direct actions, conflict in the street (including the use of Molotov cocktails), and the factional infighting among those who spout the slogan "workers of the world unite."

"By the 1970s, leftism was extremely structured in tiny political groups, which hated each other," Assayas explains to me. "You had four different brands of Trotskyism, different versions of Maoism, you had some anarchists, and those debates were everywhere."

The pro-Moscow, bureaucratic PCF (French Communist Party) is in the background, while the counterculture is very much in the forefront. *Air* has a superb period soundtrack, with songs Assayas described as "time capsules" by Phil Ochs, the Incredible String Band, Captain Beefheart & His Magic Band, and Tangerine Dream. And we even get to see Blind Faith's original album cover, with its controversial art of a nude adolescent girl. Jean-Pierre (Hugo Conzelmann) and Leslie (India Salvor Menuez), an American diplomat's daughter, pursue mysticism, making the journey to the East, seeking enlightenment and what Leslie calls "the sacred dance." Meanwhile, Gilles's first girlfriend, Laure, succumbs to substance abuse.

During his personal odyssey, Gilles experiences psychedelic light shows, hedonistic parties, underground newspapers, and Maoist documentarians. The arty Gilles criticizes these filmmakers for their trite techniques, questioning how revolutionary art can be created using conventional movie methods. Here Assayas seems to be knocking Jean-Luc Godard during his Maoist phase. The independent-minded Gilles resists ideological dogmatism, just as he denounces the bourgeois productions his screenwriter father pens, as the prodigal son inexorably continues on his quest to make indie films.

Assayas's father was the screenwriter Jacques Rémy, so I ask Assayas if

Gilles is his alter ego.

"Yes, yes. I've been saying this," he acknowledges. "It's really something that's ultimately very important for me in terms of this film. I loved my father; I did. But I had violent conflicts with him. Similar to the one I represent in the film—extremely similar. But sometimes even worse than that."

Laughing, he adds: "With the perspective of time, I can understand the difficulty he had dealing with the kind of teenager I was. I was a very nasty teenager. So I wanted to represent him, also being on his side and being able to watch things from his perspective."

Assayas sympathized with the anarchist wing of the May '68 movement represented by Daniel Cohn-Bendit. With *Air*, Assayas says he is "telling the collective story of my generation," one that proclaimed that "it is forbidden to forbid."

Not all of Assayas's movies have explicitly dealt with left-leaning themes. He helmed 1994's *Cold Water*, a sort of apolitical forerunner to *Air* about Parisian teens (also named Gilles and Christine) who party hard and go on the run, with songs by Alice Cooper, Bob Dylan, Leonard Cohen, Janis Joplin, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Uriah Heep, and Donovan. *Irma Vep* (1996) is a biting look at moviemaking, with black latex-clad Hong Kong actress Maggie Cheung (whom Assayas was married to for several years) depicting herself as the star of a French remake of a classic vampire serial being shot by a has-been director portrayed by Jean-Pierre Léaud. Maggie Gyllenhaal played a drug-scoring actress in the *Quartier des Enfants Rouges* segment that Assayas did as part of the 2006 omnibus film *Paris, je t'Aime*.

Assayas took a bold step when he co-wrote and directed 2010's award-winning *Carlos*, an epic about the Venezuelan ultra-left hit man Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, known as Carlos the Jackal (played with panache by Édgar Ramírez), whose terrorist acts included a brazen raid on OPEC's Vienna headquarters. Carlos is currently serving a life sentence for assassinating two French intelligence agents in Paris in 1975.

Carlos and *Something in the Air* have thrust Assayas into the front ranks of today's political filmmakers.

"In *Carlos,* I spent two years immersed into the 1970s but from a very, very different angle," he says. "It was interesting to deconstruct what those politics were about, and specifically in respect to the end of the Cold War. That was my looking back in an analytical way."

He calls the Cold War and the terrorism of Carlos the Jackal "the dark side of the 1970s." While making *Carlos,* he says he "was missing the beauty" of the decade. "My own perspective on those years was about youth, energy, the faith, the utopia of those years, and what inspired me and made me the person I was."

Given recent revolutionary upsurges with the Arab Spring, America's Occupy Wall Street, Spain's *Indignados*, and Greece's anti-austerity protests, I ask Assayas if he still dreams of revolution.

"Yes," he readily replies. "But as much as I believe in those political movements, as much as they give one hope, the way they envision politics is very different. In the 1970s, people believed in the possibility of turning society upside down, of taking over. Today, people don't think of a revolution. They think of adapting society, of more fairness, more social justice, more generosity, which are old things—the modern world has become so brutal that, of course, you have to recognize and endorse such an effort. But in the 1970s it would have been called 'reformist,' which was an insult."

And what part does film play in this process? "Cinema in general plays a very modest role in politics," he says. "Politics are connected to real life, to real struggle, to the actual pain of real-life people, and movies are very, very minor compared to that." For *Air,* he says all that he can hope for is that it might resonate with some of the youth of today and remind them that "a specific generation could change the world." ◆

Poem for the Middle School Boy Called "Faggot" 42 Times Today

(Inspired by Ben McElroy)

This is a poem for the little boy who eats lunch
alone in the stairwell
near the music room of his middle school.
You munching on turkey and rye.
Breathing the cool, stale, dusty air like a cathedral.
Eating alone in the stairwell, you say, is the best 30 minutes
of your day.

I picture you pulling at the navy sweater
you begged your mom for
because the popular boy wore one
in English class
last month.
And in middle school
popularity comes in a box
from the mall.

Your teacher tells you
that the most interesting people she has ever met
are those who don't fit in.
But you are not interested in being witty
at some unimaginable future cocktail party.

This is a poem not only for you but also for your classmates
with their flat-ironed hair,
pearl studs,
color-coordinated braces—
They who do not know the horror of walking
into a cafeteria where you sit at a table
and the rest of the kids, in unison, lift their trays
and move.

Don't know how it is to have
whispers all sound like your name.
Don't know what it's like to go home
and whimper into
your dog's scruff.
Begging each Sunday to stay home on Monday.

One day may they remember
that they could have worn a cape for that little boy.
Maybe *their* little boy
will now be the one getting snickered at
as he walks
to the stairwell
to eat
lunch
Alone.

Would that I could, I would sit
with you every day, bake you cupcakes
and brownies with thick frosting.
Lift you out of that gym locker room you dread,
where you keep your eyes riveted to the floor
as if the fossil of God could be found there.
I see you pulling your sweater over your head to a chorus of:
"You lookin' at my dick, Faggot?"

I would rescue you there in the toilet stall where before
discovering the sanctuary of the stairwell
you used to eat your lunch
atop the toilet lid
breathing in only through your mouth.

I wish I could conjure up
some mythical beast
to fly you high above those
prep-school haircuts and stiff gingham bows.
High above the concrete blocks
up into the clear, blue sky
where all you could feel was your own lightness and
space like when you were little
and all of you took turns on the swing.
Your face beaming,
your tube socks slouched around your ankles
like it was always the very first day

of summer.

—Alisha Davlin

Alisha Davlin graduated NYU's MFA in creative writing program in 2002. She has published in Calliope, Ginosko, and South Jersey Underground. She is from Louisiana and is currently working on a novel while teaching at an independent school in North Jersey, where she lives with her husband and notoriously naughty wheaten terrier, Lulu (adavlin1@yahoo.com).

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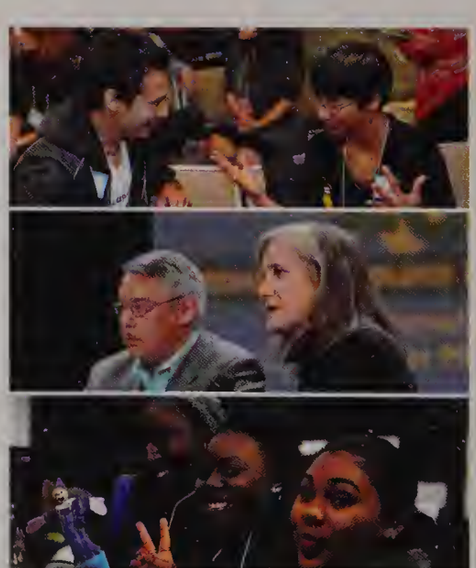

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by Amitabh Pal

Mairead Maguire

More than thirty years have gone by since Mairead Maguire won the Nobel Peace Prize, but she hasn't lost her passion yet.

Maguire shared the Nobel in 1976 with Betty Williams for their efforts to end the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Maguire and Williams co-founded Peace People, an organization primarily focused on Northern Ireland but also working on other conflict areas.

Maguire has been relentless in her activism since receiving the Nobel. She has engaged in civil disobedience outside the U.N. headquarters and the White House in protest against the Iraq War. She has traveled around the world—to places such as the former Yugoslavia and the Congo—to spotlight atrocities and to show her solidarity with activists. She visited Afghanistan in December to meet with the Afghan Peace Volunteers, a grassroots youth organization.

Amitabh Pal, the managing editor of The Progressive and co-editor of the Progressive Media Project, is the author of the recent book " 'Islam' Means Peace: Understanding the Muslim Principle of Nonviolence Today" (Praeger).

But it is the Israeli occupation of Palestine that has occupied much of her attention in recent years. Maguire has been detained and deported by the Israeli authorities a number of times. She has been shot in the leg with a rubber bullet and has been tear-gassed during a march. She is currently barred from entering that country.

So it was only fitting that I met Maguire during her trip to New York City in October to be on the jury of a tribunal dealing with Israel/Palestine. Maguire presided over the Russell Tribunal on Palestine alongside writer Alice Walker, activist Angela Davis, former Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, and Pink Floyd's Roger Waters. I had a friendly chat with Maguire in the lobby of the hotel where she was staying. Maguire exuded genuineness and warmth as she talked about her life.

Q: How did you get started as an activist?

Mairead Maguire: In 1976, we were at the heights of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. We were on the brink of civil war. It was very bad. On the tenth of August, 1976, one of my younger sisters was out walking with four of her children. There was a clash between an active service unit of the Irish Republican Army and the British army. The army shot dead the IRA man driving a getaway car. The car went up on the footpath and killed three of my sister's four children. She became dangerously ill and was not expected to live. I came out politically then and joined another woman and a man. All three of us said that this violence and killing have to stop, and that there has got to be another way of solving our problems. We started what became known as the Peace People, a movement committed to nonviolence and to social and political change.

Q: How has your Christian faith inspired you?

Maguire: I was born into a Catholic family. I grew up in West Belfast. Faith was very important to us eight children and my mother and father. It was grounded in the Christian tradition of social involvement. When the Troubles started in 1969, I lived in a community where there was a good deal of violence. You had the British army and you had the IRA. I witnessed a lot of violence, and I found myself asking the question: Do you ever use violence to try to bring about political change? I always opposed the armed struggle of the IRA. Our community stood up against them at great risk.

But I was forming the question because we were living under emergency laws and had to face all sorts of problems. I went on a journey to find out if you would ever use violence. One young IRA man said to me: "There is such a thing as a just war. The Church blesses just wars, and we're right to be using violence for change." Well, I studied the just war concept, and I realized that it is a phony piece of morality. You really can't apply it.

More than that, I looked at the cross and Jesus. The cross to me is complete nonviolence because Jesus said, "Love your enemy. Do not kill." I realized that I could never kill anyone or hurt anyone, but I was committed to trying to bring about social and political and economic change. That was my journey in the early '70s to pacifism and nonviolence. I never used those terms because I wasn't used to those terms as such. When Peace People started, I was more prepared for a nonviolent movement by looking at Gandhi and King and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. All of these people suddenly came alive for me because we needed their methods to bring about change.

Q: Who in the Catholic faith tradition have been heroes to you?

Maguire: From when I was very young, I always admired Dorothy Day. I had never been to America till the early '70s, but I had read about the work of Dorothy Day and her commitment to nonviolence and the poor.

I also knew about the Berrigan brothers. When I started coming to America, I admired their absolute stance on nonviolence, armaments, and war. I have always been inspired by the American peace movement because it is operating in a very hard and militarist environment. To stand up for peace and against war and for disarmament is very courageous here in America.

Q: As a pacifist, how do you confront absolute evil?

Maguire: We have to start from the fact that there are always alternatives to violence. We mustn't start off with the idea that there's only militarism, invasions, and occupations. We really have to look: What are the alternatives here? That's what we were saying in our community in Northern Ireland when we were faced with death threats, when our cars were destroyed, and paramilitaries were after us. We were saying no to bombing and paramilitarism. That wasn't justice. That wasn't solving our problem. We were moving around in circles for seven years and people were dying every day. It was getting worse. So, we had to find another way of trying to solve our problems. You talk to your enemies. You sit down and talk to them and say, "Why are you so angry? Where's your

problem coming from, and we'll work this out together." We were not against anybody; we were for life, for respect, for change.

We mobilized for six months. Our approach was to try to bring down the fear in the community and to come together to say, "How do we build a Northern Ireland identity? How do we work together to have a bill of rights and shared political structures?" We went to communities that had a great deal of violence and set up discussions and provided platforms for people who otherwise would be committed to the armed struggle or to the loyalists. We had them coming together on the same platform to talk. That was very important—step by step—for bringing together people to realize that they could solve their problems without killing each other. We had rallies throughout Northern Ireland every Saturday, and also throughout Ireland, in England, and in other parts of the world. The point was to try to bring down the fear between the two communities. We were trying to see how we could connect.

That worked because in the first six months of the peace movement there was a 78 percent decrease in the rate of violence. And it never went back up again.

Q: Why have you been so focused recently on the Israel/Palestine issue?

Maguire: Well, I was recently in the Congo. I was working with the Nobel Women's Initiative on rape and conflict situations. So, I am very much involved with other countries. I went to Argentina during the military dictatorship. Then, I was in Iraq before the Iraq War. People invite you and you go in and you try to support people on the ground. You try to find a solution.

I first went to Israel/Palestine at the invitation of Rabbis for Human Rights and the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions. When I saw the situation on the ground—how the Palestinian people were suffering—I was absolutely horrified. Then I started going on a regular basis. I was very interested in the West Bank and the nonviolent movements there, which you never hear much about. Palestine has a very strong nonviolent movement, and we started going every year to support people in Palestine who were calling for a nonviolent solution and to an end to the occupation.

Why I keep going is that I am very hopeful that there is a solution to the Israeli/Palestinian injustice. In Northern Ireland, people said there would never be a solution. But once people begin to have the political will and force their governments to sit down, it can happen. I went to Gaza in 2008, just before Operation Cast Lead. In Gaza, we actually met with

JOHANNA GOODMAN

"I believe people are wonderful. The vast majority of people have never hurt anybody in their lives."

Hamas and spoke with the parliament. All of the political parties—Hamas, Fatah—were saying that they want dialogue and peace. The week after we left, Israel bombed Gaza, committing war crimes. It just confirms that there is no political will for peace in the Israeli government. They're not serious about political peace because they're still building settlements and demolishing Palestinian homes. That is a great tragedy.

Q: Along what lines do you envision the solution to be?

Maguire: It's not for me to say from the outside what the Palestinian people should have. That would be very arrogant. People have the right to come and choose their own political solutions. As a person committed to human rights and international law and the right of self-determination, I would like to see the occupation end. And then it is up to the Palestinians themselves to decide what they want.

Q: Could you describe some of what you've gone through during your visits to Israel?

Maguire: I was on the Free Gaza boat in 2008 to bring in some medicine to Gaza. We sailed from Cyprus. We were hijacked by the Israeli navy. When I arrived in Israel to get medical treatment, we spent a week in prison. Then we were deported. When I tried to go back in again to Israel on the *Rachel Corrie* boat—as part of the *Mavi Marmara* convoy—we were forcibly taken by the Israeli navy and deported again. I tried to go back in via some Palestinian women. We asked them, "How could we help?" And they said, "Could you bring in a delegation of Nobel women to us?" So we arranged for a delegation to go into Palestine, and I flew into Israel to try to join them. The Israeli authorities said, "No, you're not allowed in." I refused to leave Israel because I said, "Well, I should not be deported. I never broke the law. I want this heard in court." I did have my day in court. They actually had the case hearing on whether I had any right to come into Israel. The court agreed that I had no right, and they deported me immediately again. So, I never got to join the Nobel women.

Q: You've been active with the Nobel Women's Initiative. What specific issues does the group focus on?

Maguire: One of the Nobel women is Shirin Ebadi. Shirin can't go back into Iran because it wouldn't be safe for her. We've been supporting Shirin Ebadi and highlighting women's issues in Iran. Some of Shirin's colleagues who've come out for defense of women's rights in Iran are currently in prison with long sentences.

We've started a big campaign to end rape in conflict situations, at the request of women in the Congo, Kenya, Burma, and Colombia. Rape is a product of war, and they asked us to highlight this as much as possible to get governments to take this as a very serious issue. That's what we've been doing.

Q: Is there more camaraderie among the Nobel women winners as compared to the men?

Maguire: Mikhail Gorbachev organizes a Nobel summit every year. I go to that each year. We focus on issues like disarmament. Everybody knows each other, and we have good friendships there.

What happened with the Nobel Women's Initiative was that Jody Williams started this to focus on women's issues. Men don't always focus specifically on women's issues like rape and sexual violence. We worked with Shirin and Jody and Leymah Gbowee and Rigoberta Menchú. We have an organization in Ottawa and a staff of about a dozen. We really can do things in support of each other very, very quickly. So, we have a close network, and we all get on very well. We all support each other in whatever area of work we've been engaged in, and this May in Belfast we will be having a conference. It'll be on the theme of beyond militarism and war to a nonviolent world.

The experience of a lot of us women is that too much money is being spent on militarism and war. We need human security: food, education, health care for our children. We don't want to waste it on wars and militarism. That will be our focus: building a culture that moves away from militarism.

Q: You've publicly defended WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange, in spite of the charges against him. Why so?

Maguire: I think Assange has been very courageous. I've also defended Bradley Manning. I think they've been tremendously courageous in telling the truth, and the public has the right to the truth. The fact is that the American government and NATO have destroyed Iraq and Afghanistan. Their next targets will be Syria and Iran. We as a human family are on this train that is taking us into more and more war and more and more abuse of human rights where a lot of civilians are being killed and where human rights and international law are being set aside by America and NATO. We're in a very dangerous situation, and it's all being covered up. Julian Assange and WikiLeaks told the truth. In doing that, he did

all of us a great service. To me, this is all a political campaign just to silence him. Those of us who believe in human rights and the truth—particularly the journalists and the media—should stand in defense of Julian Assange and Bradley Manning. We owe them a lot for telling us the truth of what is happening in our world, and that is why I would continue to support them.

Q: What are your views of your fellow Nobel laureate Barack Obama?

Maguire: President Obama continues to support war. He continues to remove many basic civil liberties and human rights. He continues to condone drones in Pakistan and Afghanistan that kill women and children. He meets with his advisers every Tuesday morning and signs extrajudicial killings. To me, those are not the actions of a peace person. We need political leadership that will move the world away from war into solving its problems through dialogue and negotiation, to build friendship with people, which is not what we've had with this war on terror. Setting aside human rights and international law to have an agenda of war and killing and occupation to me is totally unacceptable.

Q: You declined to attend a Nobel summit in Chicago last April after initially accepting the invitation. What was the reason?

Maguire: The State Department, i.e., the American government, was hosting that, and to me the Nobel Peace laureates should not be hosted by a State Department that is continuing with war, removing basic civil liberties and human rights and international law and then talking about peace to young people. That's a double standard.

Q: The U.S. government has hassled you on your visits to the United States.

Maguire: I came here in 2003, and I did a forty-day fast outside the White House to oppose the Iraq War. I was arrested with about forty others. I came on two other occasions and did nonviolent civil disobedience again against war and nuclear weapons. Because of these charges, whenever I now come into America, I'm always questioned as to what my background is.

Q: You've been an activist now for more than forty years. What keeps you going?

Maguire: People keep me going. I believe people are wonderful. The vast majority of people have never hurt anybody in their lives, don't want killing, don't want wars. In all the countries of the world, they just want to love their families and get on with their lives. I believe passionately in the power of people. I support the Occupy movement here. I support the Gandhian movement in India. I go to places and I see all these people working on peace education and on a culture of nonviolence and non-killing. You look at all these different movements going on: the environment movement, the interfaith movement, the human rights movement, the youth movement, and the arts movement.

Once we link up and network, there will be new institutions, new beginnings, and a change in the economy because capitalism is destroying many people's lives. It's just one leap to think in a different way. I believe in a non-killing future. ◆

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Why wait a whole month to hear from us? We hope you'll come by soon.

Edge of Sports Dave Zirin

When Athletes Lie

On January 18, I spent thirteen hours doing radio and TV.

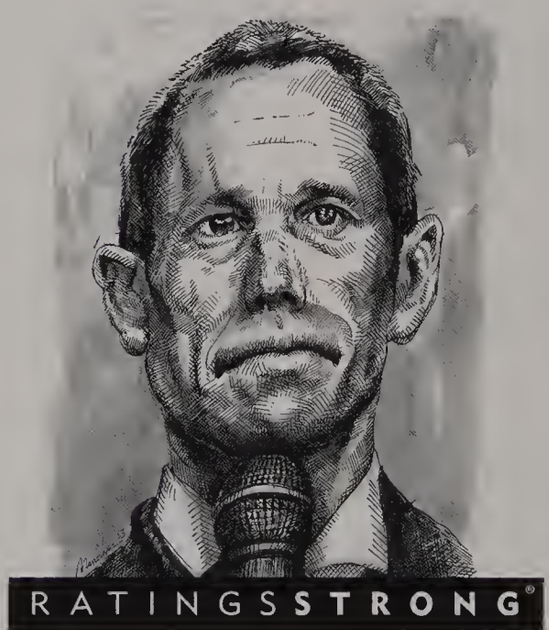
It was all to discuss either disgraced cyclist Lance Armstrong or Notre Dame's romantically imaginative linebacker Manti Te'o. Floating on a sea of caffeine and adrenaline, I made it through the day.

But when it was all over, I couldn't help but think: Why do we care? Why is there this intense interest from the federal government, the media, and masses of people about what a retired cyclist may have ingested illegally to win a bike race? Why don't those who lied to drag this country into the Iraq War or blithely disemboweled the financial system merit similar attention? Why has the federal government, through the United States Anti-Doping Agency, spent millions in its pursuit of Armstrong, yet let the Wall Street banksters sleep like babies? Similarly, why has the Manti Te'o story created such an explosion of interest?

None of these questions are meant to excuse Armstrong's behavior or the way either Te'o, or those close to Te'o, may have manipulated people into caring about a young woman dying of cancer. There's also no real excuse for the way that the most established brands in sports journalism—ESPN and *Sports Illustrated*—didn't fact-check his fantastical claims.

There are some who believe that holding Armstrong, Te'o, and the sports media accountable is just and righteous. By doing so, they claim, we are exposing fraudulent public figures or institutions and actually helping to create a culture that demands accountability and fair play. Going after Lance Armstrong could even create a "trickle up" process that could, we are told, end with the banksters, the wiretappers, and the torture leaders having to face the music.

Now that sounds nice. But, to paraphrase Samuel L. Jackson in *Pulp Fiction*, "that shit ain't the truth." If you care about Lance Armstrong because you think it will lead to Lloyd Blankfein getting frogmarched out of Goldman Sachs, you might want to get comfortable because you have a long wait ahead of you.



PATRICK MARTINEZ

There has always been a desire for a moral rectitude and purity of purpose from athletes that we don't ask of actors and certainly don't demand from politicians. We expect movie stars—male and female—to be oozing with "performance enhancers"—ageless, Botox automatons, more silicon than human. Our expectation of politicians is just that they don't kill their interns. Athletes, however, have always been asked to represent what's best about us, or pay the price in a puritanical public shaming. We want to believe that in sports, if nowhere else, there is a level playing field, but the amount of investment we put in their integrity just feels so out of whack with our corrupt twenty-first-century world. We want the Lance Armstrongs and Manti Te'os to be good people or we want them to pay. Why?

It's not really because we think that holding them to account will usher in an era of accountability. It's not because we feel crushed that our anti-cancer icon fell. It's not just about seeing a star Notre Dame academic All-American who played on our emotions get torn down. In the end, this diet of sports and scandal, this primitive morality tale of "cheaters never win," serves an irresistible social function as a weapon of mass distraction.

The leaders of high finance weren't prosecuted because the banks were judged as too big to fail. Those in the Bush Administration who spent seven years lying under oath and perfecting illegal torture and rendition programs were judged by Obama's Administration to be too big to fail. But Lance Armstrong isn't too big to fail. Manti Te'o isn't too big to fail.

Take them down, and in an uncertain, insanely stressful world, people can feel that at least for a moment, justice has been done. The biggest failure of all, however, is that of our justice system itself. As Eugene Debs said, it "is so adjusted as to catch the minnows, and let the whales slip through." ◆

Dave Zirin is the host of Sirius XM Radio's popular weekly show, "Edge of Sports Radio." His newest book is "Game Over: How Politics Has Turned the Sports World Upside Down" (The New Press).

What I Learned from My Dad

My dear partner and I recently sat before a large flat-panel screen flashing different retirement scenarios while our third team of financial advisers plugged hypotheticals into the planning instrument they preferred. Our second team was Charles Schwab. We tried to talk to Chuck, but their plan left us wondering, "What's up, Chuck?" Our first team of advisers had preferred an instrument called the less-than-reassuring "Monte Carlo." In the increasingly arcane financial world, we had begun to prefer an instrument called "The Mattress."

Suddenly I flashed on an image of my dad. Saturday afternoons, after he'd mowed the lawn or shoveled the driveway down to the blacktop, ate his lunch standing at the counter while my mom urged, "Sit down, Jack," my dad would open the top credenza drawer, take out a rubber-banded pack of bills from the week, the faux leather, three-check ledger, the Cross pen etched with his name, sit at the far end of the dining room table, and pay the bills.

Despite a family reticence about money talk, on those Saturday afternoons, Dad held an open seminar on financial management: how mortgages work, family budgeting, checkbook balancing, debt, student loans, taxes, insurance, charitable donations, savings accounts, and government bonds. I can still hear him say, "If you don't have it, you can't spend it."

One Saturday in a grainy Dickensian matinee on our black and white TV, a judge sentenced some poor schlub to a debtors' prison. I asked, "But if he's in prison, how can he work to earn money to repay the debt?" My dad seemed pleased with his protégé. The insight still works today to explain the folly of austerity.

ALEKS SENNWALD

I felt confident in my financial literacy until I didn't. Now I tend to feel like someone has just smashed a brick on my forehead when dinner conversations veer inevitably into the transactional complexities that spawned a financial services industry. Or is it vice versa? We had a major FOMO: Fear of Missing Out, i.e., "We better talk to a financial adviser! We don't know what we're doing!"

At sixty-five, I come a bit late to the planning stage, but thanks to my dad, and thanks to sheer luck at avoiding catastrophes, I have saved money to plan with. Also, my partner says I am "tight as a new shoe." I started saving money my first job working underage at the New York State Fair, selling Hickory Farms smoked sausage: "Try it, buy it, take home a pound." And I am incredulously grateful that my partner has been a salaried LGBT activist and that I have made a living as a lesbian comic. Neither was an option on the sixth-grade career-day choices.

My dad never said it, but the older you get, the more it all comes down to paperwork. I realize these are privileged problems from the tail end of a white middle class order. I resent the monetization of life choices, and yet I am glad I have some. I am grateful to be with a fully employed partner for twenty-five years. If we marry, we will divorce one lawyer and one estate planner.

I don't want to talk to Chuck. I want to talk to Jack. ◆

Kate "I Don't Trust Online Banking" Clinton is a humorist.

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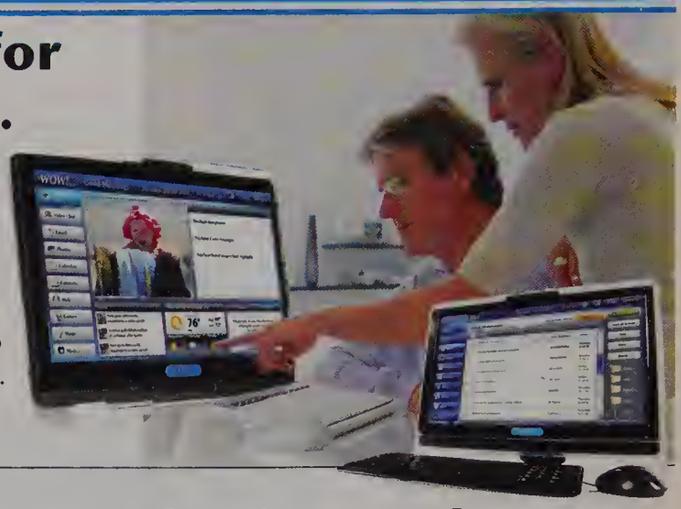

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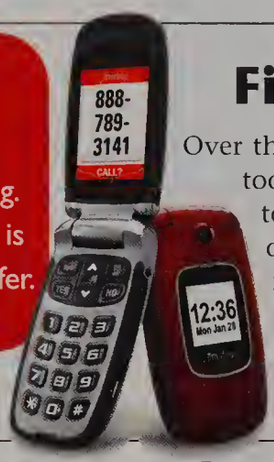

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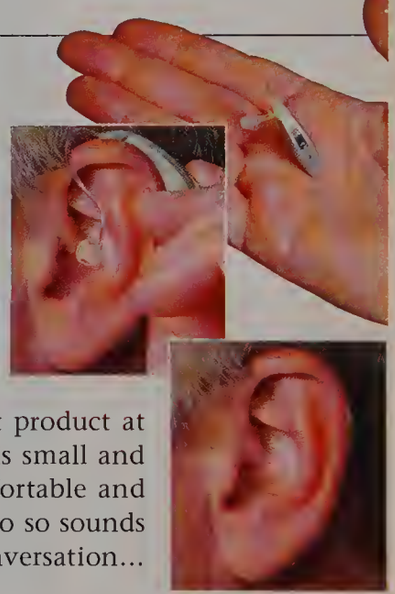

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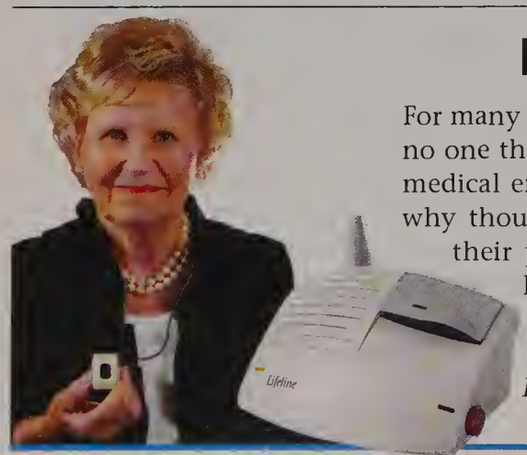

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How the Rich Hurt the Rest of Us

Plutocrats: The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else
By Chrystia Freeland
Penguin Press. 363 pages. $27.95.

By Jake Whitney

In mid-2011, shortly after Dominique Strauss-Kahn was arrested in New York on charges of sexually assaulting a maid in his $3,000-a-night hotel suite, the journalist Chrystia Freeland interviewed a Silicon Valley executive. The executive speculated about why Strauss-Kahn, the sixty-two-year-old head of the International Monetary Fund, may have engaged in such a despicable act. The executive mentioned a recent vacation he had taken. He had stayed at a Four Seasons hotel, and as he was lounging poolside one day eating a melon, his spoon slipped through his fingers. Immediately a waiter appeared offering not just another spoon, but three replacement spoons, each a different size.

The executive's point was that the world's wealthiest inhabit their own world—a "gated culture," Freeland calls it—in which their every desire is catered to. This engenders not only a sense of entitlement but a feeling of immunity from normal consequences, and it may have, the executive thought, contributed to Strauss-Kahn's act (the charges against him were dropped, though the maid filed a civil suit, which was settled for an undisclosed sum). Freeland recounts this anecdote in *Plutocrats: The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else*, and adds that the executive unintentionally bolstered his point by fuming when it took him a minute to locate his car—and vowing to henceforth keep his assistant on call 24/7.

The rich, of course, have inhabited their own world for much of human history. But their current degree of separateness, as Freeland makes clear, is unprecedented. It's not just bigger houses, private schools, and country clubs anymore; today's "gated culture" transcends borders. Freeland tells of American bankers better skilled at navigating the streets of Davos than their Upper East Side neighborhoods and of Silicon Valley entrepreneurs who travel in the same circles as Russian oligarchs and Libyan racketeers—sending their kids to the same British boarding schools and vacationing in the South of France. Freeland describes a new global super-rich—the 0.1 percent—whose members have more in common with each other than their own countrymen. As she puts it, "Today's super-rich are increasingly a nation unto themselves."

This pseudo-nation raises questions about allegiance: If your peers are the world's wealthiest, do you advocate policies that benefit them or your lower-class countrymen? *Plutocrats* is not a strict polemic, though. As a longtime business reporter, Freeland has covered many of her subjects for decades, and often speaks about

TARA JACOBY

Jake Whitney is a freelance journalist and contributing writer for Guernica: A Magazine of Art and Politics.

them glowingly. She dedicates an entire section to their philanthropy, for example, and emphasizes that today's rich largely built their own fortunes. But *Plutocrats* is ultimately a cautionary tale. Freeland's subject is income inequality, and her thesis is that the social ladder that helped the rich achieve their wealth is being destroyed by policies and behavior that they advocate, such as cuts to social programs, the dismantling of labor unions, crony capitalism, and lower top tax rates.

Studies have found that the chances of a poor American reaching the upper middle class have become extremely slim. Here, Freeland cites the work of World Bank economist Dani Kaufmann, an expert on global corruption who ranked the United States shockingly poorly (53rd out of 104 countries) on an index of "legal corruption," which is a measure of excessive lobbying and "the revolving door between the regulators and the regulated."

How bad has inequality become? In the 1970s, the richest Americans possessed about 9 percent of the nation's total wealth. By the mid-2000s, that number had jumped to almost 25 percent. One particularly staggering statistic Freeland offers is that in 2005, the income of two men, Bill Gates and Warren Buffett, nearly equaled the wealth of the entire bottom 40 percent of the U.S. population (some 120 million people). Meanwhile, CEO salaries have skyrocketed while average workers' pay has barely budged. In the 1970s, CEOs made about twenty-five times the salary of their average employee. Today, the ratio is 230:1. This despite the fact that American workers are more productive than they have been in decades.

As infuriating as these statistics are, skyrocketing CEO salaries by themselves did not create our current inequality. Studies have identified a number of causes: the technology revolution, globalization, shrinking labor unions, low top tax rates, and, yes, bloated executive pay. But Freeland seizes on another: financial deregulation. The steady stripping away of New Deal-era safeguards, she argues, turned banking from a staid profession into one where fortunes could be made by gambling with other people's money. While this in itself created big winners and losers, it had a more insidious effect. It drove talented individuals away from socially beneficial, middle-class fields, like engineering and science, where we now have a shortage, into finance. Freeland points to studies that show a clear correlation between rising bankers' salaries and rising inequality.

"Today's super-rich are increasingly a nation unto themselves."

The wealthy have succeeded in skewing the rules in their favor. "America's super-elite," Freeland asserts, "has been particularly effective at using the tools of a political democracy to protect its minority privilege."

As trenchant as *Plutocrats* often is, it would have benefitted from a tighter focus. Freeland's sections on how successful companies weather upheaval, how the wealthy pick charities, how they built their fortunes are irrelevant to her thesis here. Freeland is seeking to avoid being labeled a partisan by offering a "balanced" portrait of her subjects. But it feels like a cop-out.

In the end, however, *Plutocrats* packs a punch. What resounds, in particular, is its commentary on the ethics of being rich in America today. As articulated by Mitt Romney in his Presidential run, the Right often encourages the pursuit of wealth for its own sake. Many conservatives, in fact, have taken to lauding the wealthy and condemning the bottom half of society: "the makers versus the takers."

But Freeland cites a recent UC-Berkeley study that found the rich are actually less ethical than others and more apt to disregard others' welfare. Why? The increased resources and autonomy wealth brings "causes people to prioritize self-interest and perceive greed as positive and beneficial." Freeland indicts this mindset as giving rise to the willful blindness that led to the 2008 financial crash.

Freeland, citing other research also, asserts that people often become less happy as their income increases. The more you acquire, the more you desire, she finds, and this is particularly true once you reach the upper middle class, where you become envious of the rich above you. Success, she concludes, is far too complicated to be measured only in green.

Plutocrats closes with a historical lesson. Freeland tells the story of fourteenth-century Venice, which lost its standing as Europe's most powerful city after its elite consolidated power by usurping the city's democratic processes and stamping out social mobility. Venice's elite, too, thought that a society of winners and losers was the natural order of things.

As to whether America was designed as such a society, Freeland leaves that for Thomas Jefferson. Writing in 1814, Jefferson said of his early nation: "We have no paupers . . . the great mass of our population is of laborers. Most of the laboring class possess property, cultivate their own lands, have families . . . The wealthy . . . know nothing of what Europeans call luxury. They have only somewhat more of the comforts and decencies of life than those who furnish them."

That was a long time ago. ◆

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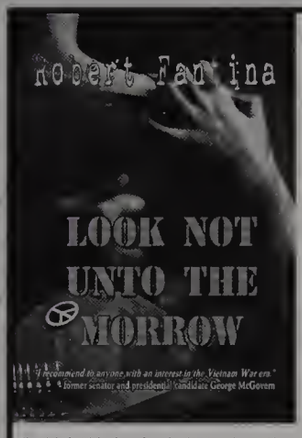
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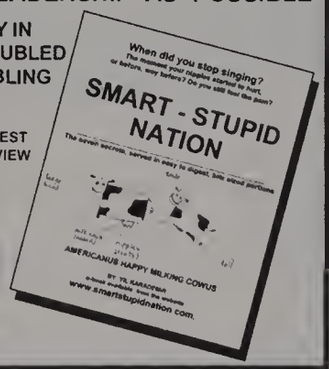

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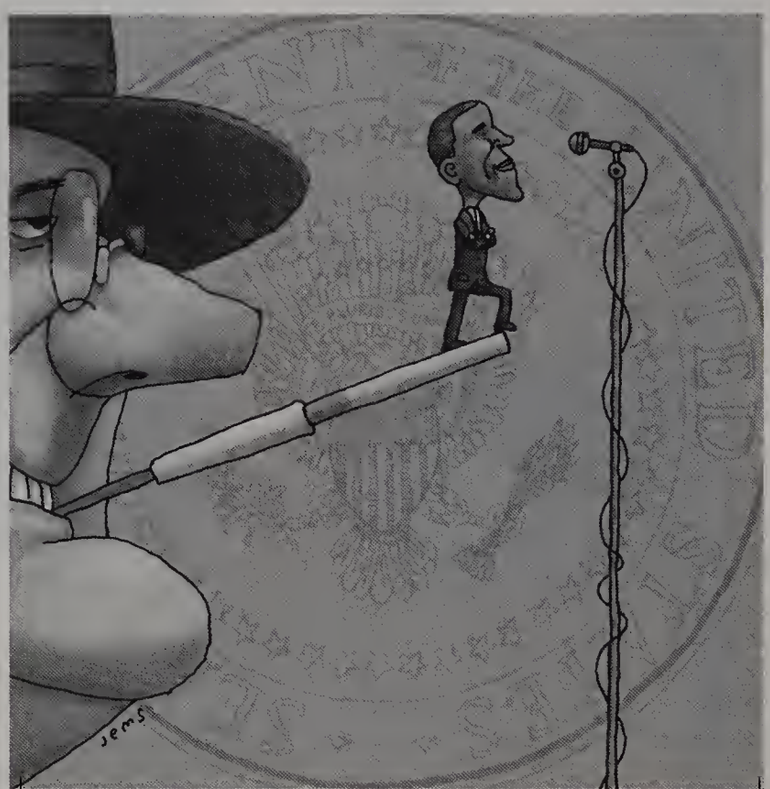
Vox Populist Jim Hightower

The Speech We Needed

The skies were overcast and the temperature was a chilly forty degrees in Washington when President Obama began his Inaugural Address. Given his own cool reserve and his first-term penchant for pursuing a tepid, middle-right governing agenda, I didn't expect to get much warmth from him this go 'round.

I was surprised. In these major speechifying moments, Obama's rhetoric has always soared, but this time his agenda and political resolve did, for he seemed to have reached deep within himself and showed some FDR, jut-jawed, presidential flair. Unabashedly rooting his address in America's solid progressive values, he issued a call for the great majority of our people—the middle class and the poor—to join him in a nationwide campaign to rebuild our country's infrastructure, our ladder of upward mobility, and (most importantly) our sense of shared purpose.

Gone from this year's expression of his Presidential intent were the bouquets of appeasement, concession, and even surrender that he tossed out four years ago in a futile effort to woo recalcitrant, rightwing Republican leaders into bipartisanship. Again and again, he saw that they negotiated by hissy fit. So it has finally gotten through to him that the GOP is in the iron grip of ideological absolutists out to disembowel the U.S. government and disown any commitment to the common good. Rather than continue a fruitless effort to "fix Washington," the President made clear that he's going to the people themselves to rally them for the kind of sensible changes that America so desperately needs.



JEM SULLIVAN

Predictably, rightwing pundits and defenders of the corporate order decried his address as a leftist screed and rudely partisan. And, of course, they rolled out that old chestnut: "socialist." But, in fact, the best word to characterize the speech is simply "American." It was a straightforward restatement of the grassroots principles that the Founders first articulated and that, over two centuries, has held this sprawling, sometimes brawling country together. It's no accident that his most used phrase (five times) was, "We the people"—the opening words of the remarkably progressive preamble to our nation's founding document.

"We the people still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity," Obama reminded us. "For we remember the lessons of our past, when twilight years were spent in poverty, and parents of a child with a disability had nowhere to turn. We do not believe that in this country, freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few. We recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, any one of us, at any time, may face a job loss, or a sudden illness, or a home swept away in a terrible storm. The commitments we make to each other—through Medicare, and Medicaid, and Social Security—these things do not sap our initiative; they strengthen us. They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great."

Some critics wanted loftier rhetoric "for the ages," some wanted less of a litany of agenda items (from climate change to equal pay for women), and some regretted that a particular issue was not mentioned—I, for example, wished that getting corporate money out of our politics had gotten a nod.

But at this difficult juncture in America's long and uncertain journey toward egalitarianism, when powerful forces of elitism are trying to push our society down the dark alley of plutocracy, this was the speech we needed. ◆

Jim Hightower produces The Hightower Lowdown newsletter and is the author, with Susan DeMarco, of "Swim Against the Current: Even a Dead Fish Can Go with the Flow."

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-Edward Everett Hale

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